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THE NATION

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*Vietnam*

## The Generals Sing an Old Song

PHILIPPE DEVILLERS

## *Meat Inspection: The New Jungle*

NICK KOTZ

## The Dollar Invades Europe

JOSEPH D. PHILLIPS

**HARRY MAGDOFF** on *Kenneth Galbraith*
**ERIC HOBSBAWM** on *Antonio Gramsci*
**DANIEL STERN** on *Julio Cortazar*

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# LETTERS

## Abril protests

*Sao Paulo, Brazil*

DEAR SIRS: With reference to Ernest Blum's "Brazil's Yankee Network," published in your May 29 issue, we would like to call your attention to the following:

(1) Victor Civita was not—as Mr. Blum reports—born in Italy; (2) Victor Civita was never a "Time-Life employee"; (3) Victor Civita did not emigrate to Brazil in 1951, nor did his brother Cesar emigrate to Argentina in that year. As a matter of fact, Cesar Civita has been in publishing in Buenos Aires for over twenty-five years; (4) in Argentina, *Panorama* is published by Panorama S.A., a joint Editora Abril S.A.I.C.I.F.Y.A.-Time, Inc. venture, and not—as Mr. Blum confidently suggests—by Editora Abril S.A.I.C.I.F.Y.A.

It is true that our company has been "accused of links with Time-Life." And, in every case, the "evidence" has been of the same sort uncovered by Mr. Blum: fabricated, imagined, inaccurate, malicious, speculative . . . and completely untrue.

As responsible Brazilian publishers, with no connection whatsoever with Time-Life or any other foreign enterprise, we deplore the irresponsible, offensive and libelous statements in Mr. Blum's article, and request that the record be set straight immediately. *Gordiano O. Rossi, Director*
*Editora Abril*

## more pornography

*New Orleans, La.*

DEAR SIRS: Irving Younger ["Pornography and Violence," *The Nation*, Aug. 14] writes: "None would object to curtailing the freedom of the pornographer whose sole motive is profit. . . ."

Mr. Younger is wrong, *I* object! I agree with Paul Krassner when he wrote, "I think people have the right to have their prurient interest aroused. I also think that a book or whatever should not necessarily have to have what the Court called 'socially redeeming qualities' in order to be given the protection of the First Amendment. In fact, the ability to arouse prurient interest may very well *be* a 'socially redeeming quality.'"

So far as I know, a cause-and-effect relationship has not been established between pornography and sex crime. So why not pecuniary pornography? If Mr. Younger has any scientific proof that pornography for pornography's sake is harmful, let him trot it out so that we may examine it. If not, it seems to me that he speaks from the sound base of contemporary community prejudice, at least in his statement that ". . . punishment should be the lot of the pecuniary pornographer." *Keith A. McKinley*

*Bothell, Wash.*

DEAR SIRS: Irving Younger's excellent analysis, as ruthlessly parsimonious as it is, goes too far. He wants pornography "forbidden" when given or sold to persons under 18 not the children of the giver or seller, and also forbidden to be sold or given to anyone unwilling to buy or receive.

Mr. Younger must know that forbidding means passing laws and that means giving power to police. Unfortunately, this does not mean the gentle application of reason but the use of force, with stupidity, brutality and often violence.

I want the police entirely out of my chld-raising responsibilities; and the privacy of the individual is more greatly threatened when police force is requested than when we take our chances. *Bernard Poll*

## good question

*Lawrence, Kan.*

DEAR SIRS: "If I shudder to drown a kitten, how can I bomb thousands of children?" Let's ask this question each day as we read about Vietnam. *Melvin Landsberg*

# EDITORIALS

## The Experts

Like the Three Wise Men who came from the East to bring word to Herod of a Great Happening, Three Election Experts, flanked by the American Ambassador, held their press conference in Saigon and pronounced the Vietnamese elections "reasonably efficient, reasonably free and reasonably honest"—quite on a par with elections in the United States. The press subjected the Three to some sharp questioning, inquiring how, after only four days in a strange land and visits to only a handful of polling places, they had been able to reach this firm conclusion. The spokesman's reply, "you can, I think, develop a certain appreciation of competence," referred, apparently, to the mechanics of the balloting; he disavowed "political philosophical" judgments.

The press did not inquire how the Three had been chosen, or anointed. It is far from *The Nation*'s intention to cast the slightest doubt on the competence and *bona fides* of these gentlemen but, after all, a man's background does play some part in his thinking and the conclusions he may reach in sizing up a complex situation. The President seems to have added Election Experts as an afterthought; they were not members of the twenty-two man Presidential observer team, some of whom did not shy away from "political philosophical" judgments. The spokesman of the Three was Prof. Richard M. Scammon of the Government Affairs Institute in Washington; his colleagues were Prof. Donald Herzberg, Director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University, and Prof. Howard Penniman of Georgetown University.

By what process of divination did the President select the Big Three from the 16,000 members of the American Political Science Association, which is fairly bursting with experts, including several hundred, one may assume, who are authorities on elections, foreign and domestic? If the President had assistance, as is usual in such matters, who recommended the Three, and what investigation was made of their institutional connections? If, as there is reason to believe, their associations included agencies which were beneficiaries of State Department, Department of Defense or other governmental grants or contracts, might it not have been better public relations to have given this information to the press? Such information could hardly be regarded as irrelevant, since, however investigators circumscribe their investigations, philosophical and political factors do have a way of getting into the picture.

Mr. Scammon's Government Affairs Institute, for example, is said to have received sizable grants from the Departments of State and Defense—something around $286,000. Mr. Penniman was on the staff of the CIA (1948-49), then served as Deputy Chief of the External Research Staff, State Department, when Dr. Evron M. Kirkpatrick was Chief, and succeeded the latter as Chief (1953-55). Dr. Kirkpatrick is an Executive Director of the American Political Science Association, of which Max M. Kampelman is Treasurer and General Counsel. Dr. Kirkpatrick doubles as Executive Director of Opera-



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tions and Policy Research, Inc., of Washington, D.C., of which Mr. Kampelman has been Vice President. And Operations and Policy Research, as Robert Sherrill pointed out in *The Nation* (February 27, "The Professors and the CIA") received grants in 1963, 1964 and 1965 from the CIA, via various "conduit" foundations.

*The Nation* is advised that Government Affairs Institute owns the real estate in which the American Political Science Association has its headquarters. We are further advised that Scammon, Penniman and Herzberg have all done work for Operations and Policy Research. Sherrill pointed out that Kirkpatrick is a close friend of Vice President Humphrey; Kampelman is another good friend of the Vice President. Of course Mr. Humphrey has many friends, including the editor of *The Nation,* and he knows many experts in many fields, but was it good politics to send on a mission where at least the appearance of objectivity is important men with these connections?

Yet when one considers the situation in broad perspective, isn't it all of a piece? The elections in South Vietnam were originally conceived as a public relations gimmick to counteract the Buddhist demonstrations which at their peak, threatened to topple the government. The scheme was to impart an appearance of legitimacy to the South Vietnamese government, and to convince doubtful Americans that we were indeed defending a freedom-loving people against Communist aggression. The VIP mission, with its add-on of Election Experts, was a part of this massive public relations effort. In Vietnam, at least, no one was fooled. *The Wall Street Journal* (September 6) interviewed a senior Vietnamese general who called the dispatch of observers "ridiculous." The general noted that the observers never got far from their Vietnamese government guides. "If the election were not fair," the general asked, "how would they find out?" Scammon, Penniman and Herzberg can put their heads together on that one.

## What Next?

Unfortunately for Mr. Johnson—unfortunately also for the people of the United States and the people of both Vietnams—public relations stunts do not solve the problems of peace and war. With the echoes of this particular Washington *cum* Madison Avenue operation dying away, what is Mr. Johnson's next move? For move he must: the 1968 U.S. election campaign is less than a year away.

The election in Vietnam could afford Mr. Johnson temporary shelter, as he views this black squall rapidly approaching. Having won the Vietnamese election, he could without loss of face order a halt in the bombing of North Vietnam. Not just a pause with a time limit, for that would be an ultimatum and the North Vietnamese have already shown how they deal with such stop-and-go maneuvers. If the North Vietnamese did not respond to a halt without conditions, Mr. Johnson's second option would be to take the case to the United Nations.

It is in fact already there and requires no new initiative. *The Nation* pointed this out editorially ("Call It

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Up!" July 3) and sentiment is now building up in the Senate for reviving the dormant 1966 U.S. resolution in the Security Council, calling for a conference to draw upon the Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962 for establishing peace in Southeast Asia. If the appeal is renewed, France or the Soviet Union may exercise the veto, but what of it? The issue will then go to the General Assembly, where there would be an opportunity for diplomatic give and take. It is hard to see how matters could be any worse than they are now.

Senator Morse is probably right when he suggests that bilateral negotiations can lead to a truce but not to a settlement. For a settlement, a larger frame is needed. Dumping issues on the UN is standard operating procedure which has worked on occasion in the past. It could work in this case, at least to the extent of getting the situation off dead center.

Such a maneuver holds out some promise at this juncture because all parties are in trouble. Hanoi is hurting, as the Pentagon gleefully points out, and if it decides to wait out the '68 election it is assuming some real risks. On the American, or Johnsonian, side, the margins of escalation are getting very thin. The Stennis Committee hearings are only one of a group of storm warnings. The disintegration of Mr. Johnson's so-called consensus is another, and the further it disintegrates the more pressing the need for action on his part. If he waits too long, he will lose what initiative he has left. The hawks are not waiting; he will be in their claws completely if he takes another escalatory step—or if he does nothing.

## The Military Voice

It is now perfectly clear that a serious schism exists in the ranks of the Johnson Administration between the Joint Chiefs and the military generally on one side, and the other war-makers—the "crisis managers" as John McDermott calls them—on the other. This is not a clean-cut military versus civilian issue. Some of the generals, in this hassle, are young, strong-minded civilians in the Department of Defense; it is a truism that one can be a militarist without wearing a uniform. The importance of the issue is rather that the military voice, whatever its source, is becoming more strident, and Mr. Johnson's internal troubles are increasing proportionately.

These conflicts rage behind closed doors and the public —the segment that is interested—hears only muffled echoes of what is going on. What does emerge is confusing, precisely because there is no sharp conflict of principle as there was, for instance, in the early days of the cold war between Henry Wallace and James F. Byrnes. Now all alike are trying to win a war that, on any grounds of political decency and American moral leadership, should never have been started. They disagree only on the means of perpetrating international crime with maximum effectiveness.

Nevertheless, degrees of temerity in such a situation have some barometric significance: the tougher the talk from people in high places, the more menacing the future appears. Another important phase is that the coalition between the Administration hawks (including those in uniform) and the Congressional hawks becomes tighter and therefore more threatening. The generals do not become as emphatic and venturesome before a Congressional committee unless they feel the tide is running their way. Their usual stance is one of caution, but no one was cautious before the Stennis Committee. The phraseology was different, but the conclusions were the same as those of an apoplectic militarist like Mendel Rivers—and more effective because of the appearance of sober restraint.

Where does this leave Secretary McNamara? The President's attempt to paper over the differences between the Joint Chiefs and McNamara on the effectiveness of bombing North Vietnam was a palpable failure. It left the impression that the differences are more deep-seated, and that what is left of the consensus cannot be kept intact very much longer. By next spring, if not before, McNamara's authority may be so impaired that he can no longer exercise his office with an acceptable degree of effectiveness. In the press conference at which President Johnson announced his latest capitulation to the generals, the most significant remark—and one which has gone largely unnoticed by the daily press—virtually sidetracked McNamara. The Joint Chiefs, said Johnson, "are available to come to the President any time they choose without coming through the Secretary of Defense. They have been requested to do that any time they want to."

If McNamara really believes that bombing the North has little value in curbing Hanoi's help to the Vietcong, how can he justify the cost in pilots and aircraft? On the ground that having started, it is hard to stop? Or that it is important to keep an appearance of unity before the public and the services, so that morale will not sag? As a man of principle (he still has a tenuous claim on that status) McNamara should force a bombing pause of indefinite duration on the Administration or, if that is beyond his power, he should resign and speak his mind freely.

The chances are that he will not do anything so drastic. And therein lies the national weakness beneath the overwhelming military strength. If a McNamara cannot hew to the line in a matter of such importance, what can be expected of the ordinary, half-informed, powerless citizen? And if nothing is to be expected of the sovereign people but a supine submission to whatever atrocity is next on the list, how long can the country remain a democracy in fact as well as in name?

## An Entertainment Culture

*San Francisco*

Yes, California has done it again! Shirley Temple is going to run for Congress, and there is very little chance that she won't win. California has given the political world something new—the politician as entertainer—and it must keep up the good work. George Murphy danced, as all Senators should, and Ronald Reagan sold soap and saved chimps, as all Governors should. And now Shirley Temple Black, America's sweetheart (of a few decades ago) will be a Congresswoman. Can you imagine



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anyone over 40 not voting for her? It would be indecent, perhaps even un-American.

She is another citizen-politician who has "got the call" to serve her fellow man. Enough of this housewifery business for Mrs. Black; her children are old enough to fend for themselves now. Her job is to go to Washington, D.C., and save the country she once charmed.

There are a number of significant aspects to her candidacy and the success of her two predecessors, Murphy and Reagan. The rise of television has made charisma very important. If you are photogenic, project sincerity, and can remember what your public relations people tell you, you too can be a politician. And the less experience you have, the better, since politics is seen here as "dirty." Reagan campaigned as an amateur and an innocent, and with a bit of backlash won by a million votes.

Now Shirley Temple will no doubt make true the Biblical injunction ". . . a little child shall lead them." When people vote for her it will be on the basis of their memory of her in the films, when she was a cute kid; she's not much to look at now. The last point, which explains this business of movie stars going into politics, is that Americans seem to insist, now, that their political leaders be entertaining. It's more than a television image and charisma—you have to be able to amuse somehow, either by singing or dancing or fighting Indians or making records.

We seem to be moving in the direction of being an entertainment culture: lawyers entertain (and become heroes of television programs), professors entertain, doctors entertain; everybody has to be capable of entertaining, somehow. Those who insist upon total entertainment can move to Disneyland, of course. But the state seems to be moving in that direction itself, so if one is patient he will find Disneyland coming to him. What is going on in California is very amusing—but it isn't very funny.

ARTHUR BERGER

## Is Bormann in Argentina?

For fourteen months Argentina has been without her National Congress, and all political parties have been banned. The mustached President Juan Carlos Ongania, who closed the satirical magazine *Tia Vincenta* a year ago for running a cover cartoon depicting him as a walrus, has just signed into law a long-delayed "anti-Communist" measure which defines a Communist as "one who carries out activities that are proved to be undoubtedly motivated by Communist ideology." The law puts a branch of the intelligence service in charge of deciding who should be charged with being a Communist and provides that "activities prior to the present law must be taken into account."

All Argentines must now carry a paassport or *cedula* which has to be presented in purchasing a railroad ticket or in registering at a hotel. A few months back, another law was enacted which provides that youngsters of both sexes on reaching age 14 may be conscripted, if the national interest requires, and put to work in any part of the country for a period of one to three years—a brilliant solution of the vexing problem of student power.

Recently a scheduled production of Harold Pinter's *The Homecoming* was banned, on the recommendation of the Honorary Commission for the Moral Classification of Theater Spectacles—the third major work to be banned in Buenos Aires in the last three weeks. Among films banned recently is *Loves of a Blonde*, the prize-winning Czech film. Concern has been expressed in Buenos Aires, reports Barnard L. Collier in a dispatch to *The New York Times*, that the recent legislation will be used to "intimidate or destroy those that the Argentine regime considers a threat to its power." Martin Bormann, the missing Nazi, may not be hiding in Argentina, but there his spirit marches on.

## The Chicago Jewish Forum

*Chicago*

Little magazines come and go so rapidly and generally have so little substance that neither their arrival nor departure merit public attention. But now and then a magazine of small circulation establishes a lasting place for itself by reason of its quality or longevity or through filling a definite need. *The Chicago Jewish Forum* is such a magazine. It has now completed twenty-five years of continuous publication under the aegis of one man, Benjamin Weintroub, who has been its editor, publisher, and man of all tasks. We hope that it will enjoy many more years of useful existence under Mr. Weintroub's devoted direction.

## Sonic Boom Tests

With the Concord scheduled for its initial test flight not many months hence, the British Government has belatedly taken some official cognizance of an annoying yet inevitable fact: The British-French supersonic plane will create a sonic boom whenever it flies at or above the speed of sound.

Since there are people in the world who do not like to be subjected to shock waves, thunderous noises, or other painful assaults upon the senses, someone in the government decided that it might be prudent to determine the British tolerance for annoyances of this sort. Arrangements were made for the RAF to create some sonic booms in the vicinity of London. The British public was not told when to expect a boom on every occasion. The results, predictably, were inconclusive. They simply indicated that many people did not like the booms.

The fact of the matter is that the tests—like those conducted in the United States—were unscientific in the extreme. They did not take into account the fact that the sound and shock of the sonic boom varies with atmospheric conditions in a manner not fully understood. Nor could they purport to simulate the boom that will be created by the Concord, since the tests were made with much smaller planes. The intensity of the boom increases with the size of the plane.

But the most glaring omission in all the sonic boom tests is that they do not take into account the real effects of the sonic boom on people. The first major U.S. tests, conducted in Oklahoma City, produced data concerning the number of windows broken, the amount of plaster shattered, and the number of claims filed for property damage. The most recent U.S. tests, in the Mojave Desert, tabulated certain property damage statistics plus



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the stated opinions of the local residents—most of whom are dependent upon the Air Force Base for a living.

But none of the tests has as yet measured any of the important effects upon people. We do not know how much time will be required to return to sleep after having been rudely awakened by a sonic boom. We know virtually nothing about their effects on the nervous systems of normal people—much less people suffering from hypertension. Not even the most rudimentary physiological tests have been made to determine the effects on heart beat, perspiration, adrenalin flow, or ability to concentrate. We do not even know what effect the boom may have on laboratory animals.

But what we do know about the boom is disturbing. There is sufficient cause for alarm that some truly scientific sonic boom tests should be undertaken—this time by biochemists, physicians and other scientifically trained people who are competent to judge the effect on human beings.

Although the FAA has spent thousands of dollars on boom tests designed to show how much property damage the boom may cause, those tests provide small clue concerning the human damage that may ensue. To date our government has not even undertaken simple physiological tests that could provide important data—tests similar to those presently required before any company can market a lipstick, an insecticide, or a household paint.

KARL M. RUPPENTHAL

# Meat Inspection: The New Jungle

**NICK KOTZ**

*Mr. Kotz is a Washington correspondent for the Des Moines* Register *and the* Minneapolis Tribune. *He has been credited by Sen. Walter Mondale with first having called attention to the inadequacies of existing meat inspection legislation.*

*Washington*

Does the American citizen have an inherent right to safe, government-inspected meat, even when traveling through a state that does not provide meat inspection? Aled P. Davies, genial and skilled chief lobbyist for the American Meat Institute, nonchalantly denies it.

When Rep. Thomas Foley (D., Wash.) peppered him in mid-July with questions about how the traveler can be assured the hamburger he buys is made of safe, federally inspected meat, Davies replied casually that he might variously demand federally inspected meat, ask to see the meat package, determine the meat's condition by smelling it, or—if he is really nervous—carry his own meat with him.

Lounging easily in the witness chair before a House Agriculture Livestock Subcommittee, which usually follows the advice of his industry, Davies said he was not nervous. He expressed complete confidence in the wholesomeness of American meat, whether federally inspected, state inspected, or not inspected at all.

The hearing was called to consider legislation to modernize a 1906 federal meat inspection law which has not been significantly changed since Upton Sinclair provoked it with *The Jungle*, which deals inadequately with conditions in a fast-changing meat industry and which leaves 15 per cent of American meat slaughtering and 25 per cent of meat processing exempt from federal inspection. But since the sessions were sparsely attended and largely ignored by the press, the vast majority of Americans were not privy to Davies' view that visitors to a state are no more entitled to special meat protection than to special hunting laws. State laws differ on many issues, he said.

Meat produced for interstate commerce must be federally inspected, but 8.7 billion pounds (enough to feed 30 million people) are sold annually intrastate without federal inspection. It is doubtful that many consumers know that only twenty-five states require inspection of both slaughtering and processing and that even these states usually have insufficient trained personnel to enforce their laws.

Congressman Foley, a subcommittee member, is aware of these facts and their unappetizing significance. The 38-year-old sophomore Representative perked up when Davies said of state inspection systems: "We believe that generally speaking they have provided the kind of consumer protection that the people living in those states have thought necessary and have been willing to pay for."

Foley, who is urging that federal inspection be extended to cover virtually all meat sold in the United States, does not for a minute share Davies' confidence in the public satisfaction. He believes that most housewives feel secure at the market only because they falsely assume that all meat has undergone rigid federal inspection.

Davies is vice president of the American Meat Institute, which represents the largest meat packers. The hostility he expressed toward the need for any new legislation was echoed by representatives of the Independent Meat Packers Association, Western Meat Packers Association, the National Renderers Association, and the National Association of State Departments of Agriculture (NASDA).

One week later, however, most of the major trade associations and NASDA had altered drastically their position and switched their lobbying tactics. Suddenly, most of the meat lobbyists openly or privately began to back a Johnson Administration bill that would strengthen federal enforcement and would provide up to 50 per cent of federal funds to states willing to approximate federal inspection standards. The bill, however, would *not* expand federal inspection to any more plants.

The meat industry and NASDA now want the bill approved quickly and quietly, their new objective being to head off tougher legislation proposed by Foley and Rep. Neal Smith (D., Ia.). Foley and Smith propose not



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only to close loopholes in the present law but to bring large intrastate packers under federal inspection, so that 97 per cent of the nation's meat supply would be federally inspected.

The two Congressmen can see no legal logic to limiting federal meat inspection by a 1906 interpretation which restricts the term "interstate commerce" to actual sales across state lines, since most federal laws regulating industry have long assumed jurisdiction over firms having sufficient volume of business "to affect interstate commerce." The federal minimum wage law applies to businesses grossing $250,000 or more a year, and that is the figure the sponsors of the new bill adopt.

The worst fears of NASDA and the meat industry in the last five years have suddenly become a reality. A few newspapers and consumer critic Ralph Nader have begun to reveal the stomach-turning details of a Department of Agriculture investigation showing conditions in non-federally inspected plants throughout the country. The survey, made in 1962, revealed unbelievably foul sanitary conditions, the use of diseased animals, adulteration of meat products, and labeling practices which mislead consumers as to the contents of luncheon meats, wieners and sausage. It also showed most state and local inspection systems to be completely inadequate, either because of limited laws, insufficient appropriations, unskilled inspectors or lax enforcement.

The report was never released or legislation pushed because the department was transfixed in a Hamlet-like conflict between its responsibility to consumers and its responsibility to promote meat sales. But now the unsavory details are getting about, and the meat industry and cooperative Congressmen want the Administration bill adopted quickly before public alarm and disgust provide pressure for the Smith-Foley bill.

Following a cozy private conference between the industry and leaders of the Agriculture committee, the subcommittee and full committee have quickly approved the Administration bill. The Smith-Foley substitute plan was defeated by overwhelming votes in both the subcommittee and full committee. The committee does not plan to print the report of the 1962 USDA investigation or of a new survey made in July of this year, a survey that confirms the 1962 findings of filth, adulteration, deceptive labeling and farcical state inspection. Most committee members agreed that the USDA studies should be withheld in order to protect the legitimate industry.

But Smith and Foley, joined by a small but growing band of new supporters, are now armed with the reports and are unafraid to use them as they carry their fight to the House floor. Furthermore, Sen. Walter Mondale (D., Minn.), shocked by news accounts of abuses, is now pushing an even stronger bill in the Senate. Adopting concepts from the Administration's earlier 1965 bill, Mondale would make all meat subject to federal inspection but would permit states to inspect intrastate meat when the Secretary of Agriculture finds that they have established adequate systems to guarantee federal standards.

The Administration backed away from the 1965 bill only because NASDA and the meat industry had successfully blocked the legislation from even receiving a hearing in the 89th Congress. Now Smith has asked President Johnson to reassert the Administration's support for stronger legislation.

The most recent USDA survey is not pleasant reading, but it makes vivid the conditions which the proposed legislation is designed to correct. Least surprising were reports from the eight states (Alabama, Alaska, Colorado, Delaware, Maryland, Minnesota, New Hampshire and South Dakota) which provide no state inspection. Among the conditions reported by experienced USDA meat inspectors:

- At a New Hampshire plant: "All rooms were dirty, caked with blood, grease and filth. Men with dirty clothing were boning dirty meat on dirty tables."
- At a Colorado plant: "The band saw had not been cleaned for several days and the bone dust in the bottom of the saw was filled with maggots. I noticed rat droppings and tracks on boxes and wrapping paper in sawdust on the floor."
- At an Alabama plant: "The cooler contained a dressed hog with a sore on the side which had not been trimmed and several hogs with excess hair."

The federal inspectors found similar conditions at plants in many of the thirteen states which provide voluntary meat inspection; that is, meat packers may have state inspection if they request it. These states are Arizona, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Texas.

- At a Pennsylvania plant: "Ninety per cent of beef quarters showed evidence of bruises, sores, etc. General sanitation of the entire establishment was very poor."
- At a Texas plant: "Meat drums were very dirty, contaminated with rust and the insides showed a very poor job of washing."
- At an Oklahoma plant: "This company slaughters and processes a full line of sausage and smoked meat products in a building which isn't fit to be a dog food plant. Sewage water was backing up in one room. A dead mouse was lying in the corner of one cooler."
- At a Nebraska plant that advertises "sausage products with that old-world taste," the inspector noted a curing vat "in which corrosion was from one-fourth to one-half inch thick."

Most disturbing, perhaps, were field notes from the



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twenty-five states which theoretically require inspection. Although industry officials testified that California has the best state meat inspection system, the USDA investigator noted that "canned meat product is produced without any semblance of inspection on the part of California state meat inspection." Of one canning plant in the Los Angeles area, the inspector said: "The operation is located in a building that is falling apart. It is infested with flies, cockroaches and rodents. The whole place smells bad. There is no semblance of sanitation."

- Of general practices in many Wisconsin processing plants: "Ham loaf rarely includes ham; pork trimmings and veal with appropriate amounts of cereal would be more likely."
- At a Florida plant: "In viewing the trimmings being dumped into the chopper chute, we noted a little trash, such as paper drinking cups, in the raw product."
- At the largest non-federally inspected plant in Indiana: "The equipment was contaminated and rusty. Rack trucks used in the transportation of meat were covered with fat and heavily contaminated grease."

The 1967 report does little to support the NASDA and meat industry argument that states are rapidly improving their inspecting systems. Neither does a reading of U.S. Public Health Service statistics which show 20,040 reported cases of *salmonellaosis*, an intestinal disease which can be transmitted by meat products, in 1966. Public Health Service officials say that probably only 1 per cent of instances of this disease are actually reported.

Meat industry spokesmen also contend that the inspection problem is gradually taking care of itself as an increasing number of plants come under federal inspection. The American Meat Institute stressed that the number of federally inspected plants has doubled since 1950 and that meat under federal inspection has risen by 5 per cent. But the institute did not point out that total meat production has increased by 50 per cent during this period, and that the actual amount of non-federally inspected slaughter has actually risen from 4.2 billion pounds in 1950 to 4.9 billion in 1966.

Various opponents of expanded federal inspection have their own particular reasons for disliking it. The state agriculture department officials do not want the federal government to take over part of their domain, particularly with the clear implication that they are not doing their job. Many independent meat packers know that they would be unable to meet rigid federal requirements, especially those for plant construction. Some conservative Congressmen, state officials and meat firm executives simply are opposed in principle to any expansion of federal government into state activities.

One would suppose, however, that the giant firms would favor complete federal inspection, since more than 90 per cent of their production is already federally inspected. Yet interviews with officials of the eight largest meat packing firms reveal that only one—Oscar Mayer and Co.—favors expanded federal inspection. It is perhaps not coincidence that Mayer is one of the very few national firms which does all of its slaughtering and processing under federal inspection.

Publicly, officials of the largest firms say only that they fear Congress will not appropriate adequate funds to maintain an expanded federal system. They also express fear that dual federal standards will develop, less rigid standards being applied to smaller companies. USDA officials estimate it would cost $30 million annually to provide expanded inspection as proposed by Foley and Smith. Smith points out that the expense amounts to less than one-tenth of a cent per pound of meat and would be a small price to pay for the safety inherent in rigid federal meat inspection.

In these inspection procedures, federal inspectors scrutinize meat continuously in the production process, beginning with inspection before slaughter, followed by examination of organs of the slaughtered animal, and continuing through whatever processing may be involved. Last year, federal inspectors examined more than 25 billion pounds of meat and condemned 250 million pounds because of disease, spoilation or adulteration.

Several witnesses before the livestock subcommittee have suggested that a more vital concern for some of the largest firms is to avoid federal inspection of their relatively few branch processing plants which sell entirely within a state. Arnold Mayer, legislative representative for the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL-CIO), testified:

"Live cattle which obviously cannot pass inspection is sent to uninspected plants. This is done not only by the small number of get-rich-quick operators but also by some highly respectable firms. The very competitive situation in the industry currently leaves them no alternative. Their competition does it. They must do it."

An official of one of the largest firms admitted privately that his company could not compete effectively in sales of luncheon meats in several important markets it the company's branch plants had to meet federal requirements for sausage and wiener ingredients.

The Agriculture Department has deleted the names of plants inspected in its new investigation, but the 1962 survey reported improper conditions in a number of non-federally inspected branch plants operated by several large national firms.

Swift & Co., the nation's largest packing firm, was criticized for conditions in several of its branch plants. A spokesman for Swift said that 97 per cent of the firm's slaughtering and 90 per cent of its processing is carried out under federal inspection. The company reportedly sells about 4 billion pounds of meat annually. Of the eight national firms interviewed, only Swift declined to reveal how many plants it operates without federal inspection.

Rodney Leonard, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, told the subcommittee that modern technology—in addition to providing a wide variety of better and handier meat products—has made it easier for unscrupulous operators to mask the true condition of meat. He referred to the use of high-speed equipment, the prevalence of frozen meat (which must be defrosted for effective inspection), fast curing processes, artificial smoking, coloring agents, "and other additives which are potentially deceptive and dangerous to one's health when their use is not regulated."



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Leonard acknowledged that the federal inspection system is struggling to keep up with such technological innovations, and believed that few, if any, state inspection systems have sufficient competent personnel to inspect complicated, modern processing plants.

Most supporters of expanded federal inspection readily admit that even the present Administration bill would be a step in the right direction. Most important, it would give the Agriculture Department authority to keep so-called inedible meat out of human food supplies. At present, USDA has virtually no power to check on the activities of renderers, dog and cat food manufacturers, and other handlers of inedible meat that sometimes gets slipped illegally into products which are intended for human consumption.

Labor union official Mayer and other supporters of expanded federal inspection doubt, however, that state meat inspection will be greatly improved by the offer of federal funds and technical assistance. Referring to this provision in the Administration bill, Mayer said: "It would leave the situation almost the way it is now. It is an effort to buy the states into enacting meat inspection laws. But there is no requirement for the states to do so. Nor are there any real sanctions to assure that the legislation and its enforcement is effective."

The proposal of legislation has at least led to some changes in the meat buying habits of a number of secretaries on Capitol Hill. Girls in the offices of Congressmen dealing with the legislation confess they are for the first time examining processed meat packages to make sure that they contain the federal stamp of approval. It is denoted by a circle with the wording "U.S. inspected and passed by the Department of Agriculture." Federally approved raw meat bears the purple stamp, "USDA inspected." If consumers generally would insist on the federal stamp, they might get the legislation they deserve.

VIETNAM

# The Generals Sing an Old Song

**PHILIPPE DEVILLERS**

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*Paris*

On January 28, North Vietnam's Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh (long known as a pro-Chinese hard-liner) declared in an interview that if the U.S. really wanted talks, it must unconditionally end its bombing of the DRV and "other warlike acts against it." This was the first time that North Vietnam had offered access to talks with no mention of "points" or "principles." Hanoi, also Moscow, gave unusual prominence to this interview and there was no doubt in Europe that it was a signal as important as Ho Chi Minh's November, 1953, interview with the Swedish daily *Expressen,* which started the process that culminated eight months later in the Geneva Agreements.

Washington heard the signal, but did not respond. As William Bundy, one of the architects of U.S. policy in Vietnam, put it a few weeks later, the Administration did not believe the signal was serious because it was public. (This reasoning, incidentally, would seem to cast a dubious light on the so widely publicized U.S. peace offensives.) In actual fact, the signal was hotly discussed by the American strategists. In February, Hanoi was informed through neutral channels that an "intense struggle" was going on within the White House between those who wished to reply and those who said that the interview proved Hanoi was losing the war, and that "by August" the American position in Vietnam would be improved to the point where Hanoi would be forced to accept American conditions. On hearing this, a North Vietnamese representative said: "Once again the Americans are mistaken and badly informed. By August the situation will be worse for them." It was clear at the time he spoke that Hanoi had received from its allies (and especially from the Russians) pledges of modern weapons and other new equipment, and that a good part of it was already in Vietnam.

August is just over, and everyone can decide for himself who was right and who was wrong. The White House in February spurned what was probably the best chance it ever had to get negotiation promptly started. It waved aside the Kosygin-Wilson plan, resumed the bombing after the Tet truce, and once more escalated the war.

The least that can be said is that the results have not measured up to expectations. Though a series of "major victories" and local successes have been announced, the fact is that the war has assumed a new aspect which seems to have taken some experts by surprise. The U.S. Air Force can still strike heavy blows on the communications system of North Vietnam (bridges, roads, railways tracks and yards), on the power plants, oil parks, hospitals, schools (called barracks) and airfields; but it meets increasing resistance from enemy flak, and—more important—has been unable to prevent the forces of both the DRV and the NLF from lifting the intensity of the ground struggle to new heights.

Since April, the fighting has concentrated more and more heavily in the area close to the 17th Parallel, the Demilitarized Zone and the area of the South Vietnamese First Army Corps. There, in a very difficult country of jungle-covered hills and ridges, something like positional warfare has developed, and the Marines have had to face an enemy extremely skilled in jungle warfare and now provided with new Russian guns, rockets



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and missiles. Isolated posts, hill bunkers, have been repeatedly assaulted and are held only at heavy cost, air support being difficult. General Westmoreland has been forced to move into this area units that were already engaged in the South.

The outcome of these hard battles has led Hanoi to believe that the NLF is now trained and equipped to wage the people's war in the South without reliance upon the North's manpower. It should be added that north of Danang the NLF has the advantage of support from the population of central Vietnam which, as a result of General Ky's cruel repression of the Buddhists last year, now actively or secretly supports the Front. Hatred of the Marines has reached new levels in this region.

In the north, as well as in the center and south, North Vietnamese and the NLF are fighting harder than ever, and American casualties are running at the highest rates of the war. Despite optimistic reports, "pacification" is a failure and is likely to remain so. At the time of Secretary McNamara's trip, it was suggested that South Vietnamese combat teams be attached as auxiliaries or hostages to the American units, to help in the "pacification." This was what the French did in the 1890s and more recently, from 1949 to 1952 when, faced with the reluctance of Paris to send reinforcements, the High Command in Indo-China decided to "*jaunier*" (make yellow) its units.

"Pacification," writes *The New York Times* on May 17, "requires saturation of the area with well-trained allied troops" and among army officers "there is virtual unanimity that despite the aid of about 55,000 South Korean, Australian and New Zealand troops, and more than 700,000 South Vietnamese military and paramilitary forces, there are not enough men to go around." The U.S. military insists that the troops it is getting cannot produce "the results the President wants" and that at the present rate of Northern infiltration and American "progress" on the battlefield, the war could go on for years. Probably Au Truong Thanh (who endeavored to run as a peace candidate in the recent elections) was right when he told American correspondents on July 4 that there could be no military victory over the Communists in Vietnam "unless you are prepared to completely destroy the country. And because of the international situation you cannot do that. . . ."

However, military victory is what the generals want. And because, despite the huge machine set in motion for that purpose, victory is still not in sight, they are becoming exasperated. Continuously, repeatedly, they urge the President to escalate—to send more troops, to suppress criticism. Five divisions (about 150,000 men with the supporting units) are thought necessary. General Westmoreland has let it be known that he needs these troops to retain the initiative in South Vietnam. Headquarters in Saigon has stressed the continuous infiltration and build-up of the enemy (and Joseph Alsop cites among Northern divisions recently infiltrated, the 325th which he identified in August, 1965, as already fighting in central Vietnam!). Stalemate is denied. The enemy is said to be hurting badly, the war is being slowly but steadily won, the United States must just keep the pressure on, or still better step it up. The war is "a contest of wills," it becomes increasingly a "war of attrition," and the Americans must show the "Commies" that they cannot hope to see the day when the United States gives up. It is an old song, only too well known on this side of the Atlantic. It was heard from German generals in Russia; it was heard later in Indo-China and in Algeria.

Reacting to increased criticism of the air attack on North Vietnam, military advisers have told the White House that should it choose to decrease the bombing, the army "will require still more soldiers in the South to handle the concomitant increase in enemy combat capability" resulting from stepped-up infiltration.

Washington still shows some reluctance to give in to the generals. In July, Mr. McNamara was "doubtful of U.S. intelligence reports of North Vietnam troop build-ups in the South" over the last three months. It seems thus that the Administration is onto some of the tricks used in the "decision-making" process. (In 1950, MacArthur's Tokyo headquarters described an "enormous" invasion of Chinese volunteers into Korea, hoping thus to persuade President Truman of the necessity to drop A-bombs on Manchuria or China.)

Nevertheless, General Westmoreland got 45,000 men and President Johnson decided to escalate the air war, and probably the ground war too. He has thus chosen to yield again to the temptation of a military victory, bringing upon Vietnam still more bombs, napalm, defoliants and other chemical poisons, forced removals of villagers, destructions of "structures," etc.—all in the hope that some day Hanoi will "come to the conference table."

The tragedy is that, by taking this path, the Administration is moving toward an ever-increasing Americanization of the war, and therefore probably toward rising casualties. The capacity of the supporters of the war to delude themselves on this point seems unlimited. They still talk of letting "the South Vietnamese fight for themselves," and comment on "the progress of the South Vietnamese army." Reliable reports from both Vietnamese and neutral sources indicate, however, that if a year ago there still was a chance to rebuild the army, the chance has now gone forever. As an "aggressive force," the South Vietnamese army is virtually nonexistent. Outraged by the way the Americans treat them and speak of them, revolted by orders to destroy villages of their own people on behalf of dubious leaders, angered—or tempted—by corruption that spreads on every level, soldiers and N.C.O.s now just try to get by. Even so, many die in defensive or even "offensive" operations. Figures (from *The New York Times*) are instructive: In 1964, there were 73,319 desertions from an army of 434,006; in 1965, 113,462 desertions from 531,086; in 1966, 116,406 from 597,977. New measures have been taken this year and spokesmen say there will be no more than 60,000 deserters. They forgot to add that the game has changed. Soldiers now desert within the army, shifting from one battalion to another, and collecting an enlistment premium with each switch.

Not infrequently, officers will report 600 or 700 men on the roll, whereas they may have only 400 or 450. They pocket the extra pay and sell the extra equipment



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and food—sometimes to "traders" acting on behalf of the NLF. On an increasing scale, persons widely believed to be on the "government" side (and being paid by that side) are in fact working for the Front, are keeping it informed of everything the Americans say and plan. General Ky's police does its best to ferret out these agents. The feared chief of police, Gen. Nguyen Ngoc Loan, has gone so far as to work again with Le Kim Tuyen, former chief of the secret police under Diem, who kept excellent files. But terror and fear of assassination work against such efforts. And as the non-Communists and Buddhists in Saigon say: "If the South Vietnamese army cannot win on the battlefield, it is because they do not defend anything worth defending."

The Asian allies are wavering. The Thais and the South Koreans have recently become more aware of the dangers of the game. Guerrilla activity in Thailand has risen to the level that South Vietnam was experiencing in 1960-61, just before the United States began its major commitment, and Bangkok now seems unwilling to participate in a war so widely condemned, to risk a worsening of its relations with so many governments. The Philippines, facing a resurgent Huk activity, has also grown cautious. Korea too faces internal difficulties, and sees no clear interest in an armed intervention into Vietnamese affairs. Thus, from now on, the Americans must wage the Vietnamese War in greater and greater isolation. And, as the Stockholm conference on Vietnam showed this summer, the war is increasingly seen by African, Latin American and Asian countries as a colonial war of unprecedented scale.

This point of view has far-reaching consequences. First, it focuses upon the United States (and upon the United States almost exclusively, since any other belligerents are now identified with the American interest), the ingrained emotions common to former colonies, protectorates or dependencies of European powers. It should be pointed out, however—as Walt W. Rostow patiently explained to me in May, 1965—that the attitudes of the new governments have not much changed and Washington, therefore, sees no need to worry about the opinions of their peoples.

Second, the growing isolation forces farsighted governments of older nations to adjust their policies. They may not want to criticize Washington, but realistically they must remain in sympathy with the new generations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. If only to prevent Peking or Havana from exploiting the opportunities, they must dissociate themselves from President Johnson's policies. It is now a commonplace that the war in Vietnam paralyzes the development of peaceful coexistence between Washington and Moscow. Pressure for "counter-escalation" is therefore increasing in various parts of the world, and as anger deepens, a trend toward advocating force gains momentum.

Has World War III, then, already begun? The explosive colonial character of the war in Vietnam is generating new assessments and decisions. By March of 1966, General de Gaulle, because he had learned the lesson of 1949-54 and did not want the Fifth Republic to be associated with U.S. colonial policies (as the United States had previously been associated with the French Fourth Republic in Indo-China), moved France out of NATO and adopted a policy of active neutrality in the conflict developing between the Anglo-Americans and the Third World. Now, in the last twelve months, international conferences and gatherings have linked the Vietnamese War with the Latin American revolutionary movement and the struggle for black power within the United States. From all information available here, it is difficult not to conclude that the tensions created by the war in Vietnam have begun to boomerang in hitherto relatively stable regions of the globe.

Franklin, Toronto Star

Secretary General U Thant, on May 11, expressed his fear that these tensions were leading into a new World War; but some groups in Europe go so far as to accept the idea that World War III started in February, 1965, when the United States attacked North Vietnam. Since then, according to this view, the war has been slowly but steadily moving forward—"a protracted war," some Chinese papers have called it, "of twenty, thirty or even fifty years" waged, mostly, by harassment and guerrillas, by all the colored peoples against the Anglo-Americans. Psychological mobilization is going on and there can be no doubt that in this context, the recent Middle East war has created in the Arab world emotions which echo those of the Vietnamese War.

One can thus understand why on July 10, in Stockholm, Gunnar Myrdal stressed the "increasing world-wide political and moral isolation of America," and regretted that it "is not realized by the broad strata of the American people . . . . What they do not learn from their newspapers or anybody else is the solid opposition to the American war policy in Vietnam among the peoples on all continents. I consider this a serious fault of the American press and other news media which otherwise are free. To them demonstrations and flag burnings are news, but apparently not the much more important



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trends of public opinion abroad. . . . The result is that the Americans are left unaware of their increasing moral and political isolation."

It does seem, however, that an appreciable section of American public opinion now finds the time ripe for a reassessment of the Vietnamese question. Whatever the rights or wrongs of the past, the present task is to define America's long-term interest, to decide how well it is served by waging the war in Vietnam to the finish, and to assess the desirability of alternative policies.

That alternatives exist *The New York Times* showed admirably on May 24: "The alternatives of the Vietnam war have become as clear as they ever have been: either a military victory or negotiation. Since January, the one and only possible route towards negotiations has been a cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam. The attempt might fail, but could anyone claim that present policies are succeeding. . . ? The American policy of fighting a 'limited war' means simply prolonging the agonies of wounds, deaths and destructions. When the relatively small risks of an unconditional pause in the bombing of North Vietnam are weighed against the enormous risks of a much greater and wider war, the choice seems easy. . . ."

As early as February, Kosygin endorsed Nguyen Duy Trinh's proposal, and interpreted it as meaning that should the United States unconditionally stop the bombing of North Vietnam, it would be possible to explore avenues toward a political solution of the Vietnamese problem. In February, also, *after* the resumption of bombing, *Nhan Dan,* official Hanoi daily, interpreted the Trinh interview as a clear offer to negotiate. In an interview with *Jeune Afrique* (April 16), Prime Minister Pham Van Dong said that if the Americans were wise enough to understand that the first step is up to them, the Vietnamese would show that they knew how to be generous. On May 8, in Stockholm, Col. Ha Van Lau said that his government continued sympathetic toward finding a settlement of the war, but that it could never negotiate until the United States ended its bombing of North Vietnam. At the end of May, Pham Van Dong, in an interview with a pro-Chinese Australian Communist paper, said the offer to discuss a settlement if the United States permanently and unconditionally stopped bombing his country "still had full value," and at the same time, Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh reiterated in an interview with the Japanese Kyodo agency Hanoi's "expressed willingness to work out a political solution, including negotiations," adding, however, that "the United States should indicate its good faith with actions." In July, during the World Conference on Vietnam, delegates from the DRV again repeated that if the bombardments were to cease for good, there could be talks. In June, Eastern European sources had hinted strongly that if the Americans would stop the bombing, negotiations could start immediately and Mr. Kosygin is said to have confirmed this to President Johnson at Glassboro. But the President again tragically missed his opportunity. He is said to have been persuaded by his advisers that the United States was strong enough to humiliate Moscow in the face of the Third World, a folly that merely reinforces the propaganda coming out of Peking, Havana and Paris.

As matters now stand, the Administration still prefers to wait for the enemy to surrender. In his July 19 speech, Secretary Rusk once again ruled out any cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam until Hanoi gave some indication of what it could do to scale down its "half of the war." "If Hanoi is prepared to abandon its effort to seize South Vietnam by force, there can be peace within hours, but so long as they attempt to seize South Vietnam by force, the struggle will continue, and there will be some tough days ahead."

Except for those naive enough to believe still in the Administration's candid desire for peace, no one can be in doubt as to what that means. The facts have been put clearly by a former Presidential assistant, Richard N. Goodwin, who on May 6 in San Francisco accused the government of wanting complete military victory rather than a negotiated settlement. "We have not made up our mind to accept a negotiated settlement at all. We want a victory." In May, A. Hetherington, reporting for the *Manchester Guardian,* asked the military in Washington whether they would accept another pause in the bombing to see whether negotiations could be started. The answer he got was, "No, the restocking of ammunition in the South during the Tet truce in February was too great. . . ." The new escalation of bombing is further evidence that, as in Imperial Germany, the general staff (supported by industrial magnates) has the decisive word in councils of the Chief Executive.

The minds of the President's most influential advisers are now apparently set beyond hope of change. Sen. George D. Aiken expressed that view when he admitted last May his conviction "that the present Administration cannot achieve an honorable peace in Vietnam." Gunnar Myrdal said in his closing address to the Stockholm World Conference: "The small group of people around President Johnson who are running this undeclared, large-scale and cruel war on the Asian continent are poisoned by their own rhetoric and their own propaganda, and by their need to defend all the mistakes they have already committed and are committing in an escalating measure . . . . Some time ago I gave up hope of bringing to reason the group in Washington that is now the motor of the war in Vietnam . . . ."

What it comes to, then, is that the citizens of the United States must now decide. Is this war, waged for six years, 8,000 miles away in a small and innocuous country of Asia, *the* vital issue of the decade for the United States? Is it so important that it must be carried to completion, though that may mean the sacrifice of peace within the United States and even of world peace itself?

The Administration has used many arguments to justify its course, and one after another the arguments have been attacked, often successfully. However, some are still in use, and those are worth discussing.

Is it really a "limited" war, as Washington says, to make it more palatable and to allay fears of world conflict? Spending at the direct rate of $28 billion, and probably at $50 billion if all indirect expenses are in-



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cluded; a death rate of 10,000 a year; wholesale destruction of Vietnam's cities and villages with the (temporary) exception of Hanoi and Haiphong; the seeds of hatred spreading through the continents of Asia, Africa, Latin America—all this scarcely fits the compass of a limited affair. In the glossary of "limited wars," the words "attrition," "obliteration," "removals," "refugees," have probably also a "limited" meaning.

Are America's vital interests really involved? To contain China? China once again suffers civil war and Vietnam for ten centuries has kept independent of China without the slightest help from a foreign power. In any case, as Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said on May 11, 1954, Southeast Asia can be defended without Indo-China. With the Seventh Fleet in the China Sea, with bases in Okinawa, Taiwan, the Philippines and Thailand, the United States has all the air and sea power necessary to dissuade Peking from any dangerous initiative. Fighting a war in the jungles of Vietnam has nothing to do with China's containment.

What exactly is the nature of the "sacred commitments"? In November, 1954, wishing to maintain their consulates in Hanoi, the Department of State and the British Foreign Office asserted that Vietnam, according to the Geneva Agreements, was *one* country and that they had thus the right to maintain consulates in the North since they had recognized the Saigon government. Reference to the 17th Parallel as a "line" is to be found only in the military agreement signed between the French and Vietminh commands, which has never been countersigned by any foreign power. It thus cannot be a national border. However, Secretary Rusk affirmed on July 6 in Chicago that America would stay in Vietnam "until the right of South Vietnamese people to work out their own future under a government of their own free choice has been secured."

But in truth a people can hardly afford to be "protected" in the way that the United States has protected South Vietnam since 1960. Writing to the *Herald Tribune* (June 20), W. J. Sulzman, of the North American College, Vatican City, remarked: "The term 'war of attrition' can be more accurately used to describe what the people of South Vietnam, Vietcong and otherwise, have had to endure in the name of defending their freedom, than it can be to describe the overall strategy for victory of the United States and its allies. It can hardly be said that the people of Vietnam have ever enjoyed freedom since the beginning of this horrendous struggle thirty years ago. But now, the situation has worsened to such a degree that 'war of annihilation' would seem to better describe it."

With frustration and exasperation comes rising intolerance. Those who oppose the war are accused of "doing what the hawks in Hanoi most desire": "making our will look weak and strengthening the enemy's proportionately"; "giving aid and comfort to the enemy"; "betraying the boys dying for freedom in Vietnam." Letters to the papers insist that "the best way to break the enemy's will is to convince him that we are certain to fight as long as necessary to insure our goals," and the *Detroit Free Press* proclaims that "Ho should realize that the U.S. will never fail to support its war in the field as did the French Government in the early 50s." Protestors and demonstrators are described as Red pawns, and the FBI is urged to investigate. Gen. Maxwell Taylor warns against losing the war in Washington while it is being steadily won on the battlefield, and former President Eisenhower scorns the behavior of politicians faced with a war.

But slandering the dissenters is not proving to be a very effective device; it merely calls attention to a split in national opinion that is remarkable in a country at war. In his admirable speech at the University of Connecticut last year, Senator Fulbright drew the line between "the two Americas." The first America still keeps the spirit of freedom and would use power in its service. The second America, essentially money-minded, relies heavily on financial and physical power (military and nonmilitary) to secure new "positions of strength"—and new markets. In its view, Vietnam is a key position in the New "Far West" (as described in *Look*, May 30), to be held at any cost.

Some intuition into the forces at work within formerly colonized peoples is enjoyed today by a considerable group of American citizens. Better than their chauvinistic counterparts, they understand modern nationalism (even when, by historical circumstances, it is permeated with Marxism), as well as the meaning that Asian and African *peoples* (not their Westernized oligarchies) attach to the word "freedom." It is by such insights that the real nature of the Vietnamese War is to be grasped. For more than forty years, the Vietnamese people have been actively struggling to achieve genuine independence, national unity, the eradication of feudal privileges, of corruption, of poverty. This struggle threatens nobody except some small but powerful cliques, and the foreign interests that protect them. Helping the Vietnamese to achieve their national aims is only continuing in the path set by the American and French Revolutions. Helping the cliques is following the example of indirect colonial rule, as practiced by Great Britain and other imperialist states in past centuries. Who today will believe that the cliques can prevail over the awakened peoples?

Senator Aiken is right: "The President predicates peace on the capitulation of the enemy, and that solution seems far in the distance." No solution is in sight, and no vital U.S. interests are involved. Only the *amour-propre* of a few generals and politicians is at stake, and for this the cost is high.

Washington can still change its course. "Every military strategy must be subject to constant review and reappraisal," wrote the Washington *Star* on May 24. "It is necessary to watch for the moment where a change of strategy may produce a greater gain at a decreased risk. That moment has arrived. We should say nothing, explain nothing, set no conditions or limitations on our switch of strategy. We should simply stop bombing and see what the enemy does. We will always have the right and the capacity to respond appropriately, no matter what he does. . . ."

The opportunity offered by the North Vietnamese over-



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ture of January 28 is still there. The United States can seize it immediately. It has only to *dare*. After the cessation of bombing, discussions with Hanoi would probably soon begin. To be fruitful, their emphasis should be more on the political than on the military aspects of the problem. And once seated around the conference table, American and North Vietnamese delegates will have to face a problem whose solution is not really theirs to decide (they can only help): how can a genuine democracy and a genuine independence be restored to the area now designated as South Vietnam? This will necessarily require political negotiation with the NLF, which leads the Southern armed insurrection.

It is obviously not easy for the United States to enter into direct talks with the NLF, but Washington this year even missed the opportunity to assist in an honorable start toward peace in the South. Only a *free* election could provide a popular government capable of dealing effectively with the NLF, Hanoi and the United States. Instead, the military regime in Saigon has been allowed to organize a mockery of Presidential elections, from which such candidates as Duong Van Minh (a liberal general), Au Truong Thanh (a peace candidate,) not to speak of every friend of Nguyen Huu Tho (the NLF leader) or of Thich Tri Quang (the Buddhist nationalist leader) have been barred. It is as though an American Presidential election were to offer Generals Walker and LeMay, running against Governors Wallace and Maddox, with regular Republican and Democratic candidates banned by the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan. That is what President Johnson, in his press conference of August 18 called "decisive progress towards a representative government."

"We cannot but continue to fight until we shall have factual evidence that a peaceful mind at last prevails in the counsels of the White House." That was said by a spokesman for Hanoi in March, 1966. It is now September, 1967, and there is still no indication that the Johnson Administration is prepared to put an end to its intervention in Vietnamese domestic affairs, to abandon its efforts to impose its protectorate upon the South Vietnamese people, to drop its plans to set up, with a handful of local warlords, an American Manchukuo on the shores of the South China Sea.

# IT'S GETTING NOISIER . . .

**CARL DREHER**

When President Johnson proclaims that overloading with noise "is without precedent and poses a serious threat to the health and welfare of mankind," we know in our ears and nerves he is right. When Rep. Theodore R. Kupferman says that noise detracts from the quality of our lives as does a filthy street or a polluted stream and that we have no right to call ourselves civilized unless we do something about it, few will disagree (but fewer still will easily surrender their own right to make noise for profit or pleasure). All abuse of the environment is like that.

Not that noise is entirely a modern affliction—Don Quixote's frightful adventure with the fulling hammers shows it isn't—but in our time it has grown to monstrous proportions. While the noise level has been rising steadily, counter factors, such as distance and physical barriers, have been weakening. And instead of striving to narrow the gap between information on noise control and its application, we have allowed it to widen. Public resentment will eventually reverse this trend, but in the meantime it is each for himself and the devil deafen the hindmost.

A little acquaintance with the physics of sound is necessary both for acoustic self-defense and effective social action against noise. Sound, whether objectionable or otherwise, varies in power over an enormous range. Standing near the tail of a jet airliner with all four engines roaring, a person has his eardrums assaulted with a pressure a thousand trillion (1,000,000,000,000,000) times greater than the minimum sound he can distinguish against a silent background (an approach to which is to be found only in the laboratory). Since acousticians, and engineers dealing with electronic reproduction of sound, have better things to do than write zeroes, they borrowed from the Bell Telephone Laboratories the decibel (db), a unit so useful that it is now coming into vernacular use. It is a tenth of a bel, named, with the final l dropped, after Alexander Graham Bell. An appropriate memorial: before he invented the telephone, Bell was a teacher of the deaf.

Decibels are used in calculations of power, of pressure (the response of the ear is proportional to pressure) and for many other technical purposes but, however applied, a decibel is just a logarithmic ratio. Logarithms afford a rapid means of multiplication by addition and division by subtraction (a slide rule does it mechanically) by means of which the cumbersome number cited above can be written as 10 to the fifteenth power ($10^{15}$) or, still more conveniently, 150 db. The whole vast range of sound volume is thus compressed into an easily manageable compass.

The accompanying graph shows the db range, from minimal perception of sound by young, normally sensitive ears, which is taken as zero, to the output of a siren that is rumored to be the latest exotic weapon for use in Vietnam. It has been compiled from a number of sources which do not agree precisely and is intended only to give a general idea of the magnitudes involved.

Besides their use in arranging sounds in ascending order of physical strength, decibel ratings help us to assess the subjective magnitude of changes, up or down. While there are important complicating factors, such as pitch, lowering the level of a sound by 2 db will be just about noticeable, a drop of 10 db will be significant, while a



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reduction of 20 to 30 db will generally eliminate a noise that was previously disturbing. The reason is again logarithmic—a 30 db reduction corresponds to a pressure reduction on the ear of $10^3$ (1,000) which is obviously considerable. Conversely, a rise of 10 db may change an unobtrusive noise into an annoying one. In another application, building structures, such as walls and floors, may be rated in db for their ability to cut down noise.

Noise can damage hearing in a number of ways. Blast trauma that ruptures the eardrum or disrupts the chain of small bones that transmit sound within the ear is exceptional, but occupational deafness is common and has assumed great importance in the field of industrial hygiene. It was well established in the 19th century that blacksmiths, boiler makers and other workers in noisy surroundings tended to become hard of hearing earlier in life than other people. With increase in industrial noise and recognition of the principle that employees are entitled to compensation for injury incurred in the course of work, this type of disability has increasingly concerned management and labor. What with the differences of individual tolerance and the difficulties in measuring complex types of noise, quantitative standards are not easy to set up, but the need is as obvious as for speed limits on highways.

Leo L. Beranek, a leading acoustical engineer, observes that men of 30 who have been exposed to a work environment with an average noise level of 90 db for periods as short as ten years, may have hearing as impaired as men in their 60s and 70s who have worked in a quiet environment. The danger limit for most individuals is somewhere between 80 and 85 db. The U.S. Air Force, the largest single employer with an inescapably noisy environment for much of the personnel, has settled on 85 db, in the frequency range important for speech intelligibility, as the level where ear protection is mandatory. Investigation has shown, however, that some degree of hearing loss may occur at levels around 80 db, which is well below many of the levels commonly encountered under all sorts of contemporary conditions.

The existence of these community noise levels means that few people, especially in cities, can escape harmful exposure, and since more and more of us live in cities, or in suburbs which often are just as noisy, the incidence of noise-caused deafness is pretty sure to increase. For the past thirty years the noise level has been increasing at the rate of 1 db a year. In general, noise varies with the power of the source, and some of the increase is attributable to a horsepower race which, unfortunately for our hearing, is not confined to automobile designers (who, unlike some other machine designers, at least make some efforts to reduce noise). The typical self-propelled power mower of fifteen years ago was driven by a 1-horsepower gasoline engine. Now, even "economy" and push models are equipped with 3 or 3½ H.P. engines, and some householders with a total lot area of 1 acre acquire prestige among the neighbors—and help to deafen them—with riding mowers or tractors that may develop as much as 12 H.P. Indoors, where sound is reinforced by reverberation, vacuum cleaners boast of electric motors rated at more than 2 H.P.; less than 1 H.P. is exceptional. In the kitchen, with an exhaust fan, dishwasher and garbage grinder going simultaneously, it is said that the noise level may reach 100 db.

High fidelity music reproduction affords another example. A stereo amplifier for home use will commonly be advertised as producing 120 watts, or 60 watts of audio power per channel. The advantage is supposed to be that momentary peaks will be accommodated without distortion, but since the acoustic output of a 100-man symphony orchestra seldom rises above 10 watts, and modern loud-speakers are quite efficient, it is hard to see what anyone can legitimately do with such power in a living room.

Surface traffic is a major noise producer not only in the cities, where it is taken for granted, but within a band hundreds of yards wide along every express highway. Since intercity expressways extend for hundreds and thousands of miles, acoustically they bring the city to the country on a formidable scale. Every time an interstate highway is extended, we witness not only the destruction of houses in its path but the engulfment by noise of a far greater number of residences whose occupants had previously enjoyed a measure of quiet. There is compensation for property that is condemned for a road, but none for the loss of a peaceful environment.

City subways and rail lines are another source of high-level noise. The San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit District, the Montreal subway and a few other urban-suburban railroads have taken pains to reduce noise, but most of the major systems, like that of New York City, seem to be operated on the basis that noise is unimpor-

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tant. Well-known, perfectly feasible engineering measures to abate noise are regarded as a refinement to which the users of public transportation are not entitled.

Fortunately the exposure of the individual is intermittent, and people vary in susceptibility. This is true also of those exposed to occupational noise: some come through with unimpaired hearing, while others suffer rapid deterioration and should be taken out of this kind of environment before irreversible damage is done. However, there is now convincing evidence that millions of Americans sustain ear damage, usually without knowing it, from a high general noise level. Dr. Samuel Rosen and others have made audiometry measurements on Mabaan tribesmen, who live in an exceptionally quiet desert region in the southeast Sudan. The majority of Americans (men somewhat more than women) suffer severe hearing loss at the higher frequencies in old age, while the Mabaans show the same acuity of hearing at age 75 as the average American at age 25. The elderly American hears speech, but guesses at the meaning. He misses the low-energy fricatives (f, th, ch, etc.) and consonants that are essential for intelligibility. These researches cast doubt on the concept of "normal" loss of hearing, and indicate that those who already have some hearing loss should expose themselves as little as possible to loud noise.

Noise is also charged with causing emotional and physical illness. Dr. Rosen has probed a possible correlation between noise and coronary heart disease, which is as rare among the Mabaans as deafness, but their lives are so different in all respects from those of Westerners that the evidence is only suggestive. Constant interference with sleep is certainly harmful but, again, individual susceptibility varies. The same is true of reaction to low-level noise. Dr. Beranek points out that while some people are able to live happily next to elevated railroads, trucking routes, airplane flight paths and other racket-making sources, at the other extreme there is a group that seem to be disturbed by any noise, however faint, that is not of their own making. Interviews elicited the fact that these people were dissatisfied with other features of their surroundings as well.

Boosting the ambient acoustic field by increases in household motor size, high-speed roads, faster aircraft, etc., is one way in which a mere nuisance may be converted into a menace. Yet noise is by no means the most intractable type of pollution. One saving feature is its local character. Even thunder, an extremely loud noise at close range, dies away at a distance of 12 miles at most. Like other forms of radiation, sound in the open is subject to the inverse square law: double the distance, and the intensity drops to a fourth. The waves also bounce back from barriers and are attenuated as they pass through. But as air and surface vehicles multiply in numbers, speed and power, distance becomes less of a protection; at the same time modern building construction tends to transmit noise, whether from the outside or from room to room, to a greater extent than pre-World War II construction.

There is no question that modern building practices incorporate many improvements, but protection against noise is rarely one of them, despite the fact that from an engineering standpoint it is more readily available than ever before. Efforts have been made to cut down on noise, especially in one- and two-family housing, but the results have been poor. The situation is summed up in a survey in *House and Home* (December, 1966): "What ever became of the big noise about the Quiet Home?" The story begins: "Few merchandising ideas ever looked more promising than did the Quiet Home in 1963." The second paragraph ends: "What happened? Is the Quiet Home dead and buried?" The post-mortem that follows is thorough, and gives some promise of limited success in the future. It points up an important fact: much of our affliction with noise is due, in more senses than one, to people.

A typical experience is that of a leading Southwest building firm, Fox & Jacobs of Dallas, which centered a major promotion around anti-noise construction. Spending considerable money on research and development aimed at applying existing acoustic knowledge to medium-priced houses, they evolved a sound-conditioning package costing roughly $500 for houses in the $13,000 to $35,000 range. They sold just four Quiet Homes. Other builders had the same experience. N. P. Dodge of Omaha summed it up in 1966: "We were very disappointed with the public's reaction. This thing has no sex appeal whatsoever. People are interested in price; the average buyer—of homes, say, in the $30,000 range—has only a nominal interest in quality."

The National Association of Homebuilders, in cooperation with manufacturers of acoustic materials, has switched the promotion from "Quiet Home" to "Quiet Living" or, more specifically, "Quiet Room," which costs about $200, or somewhat more for zonal quieting. They are also resorting to an indirect or "piggyback" sales appeal involving rooms for specialized functions—a study center, a teen room, a pre-schooler room, a party room, a home gym, an arts-and-crafts room, in the hope that these gags "will be distinctive enough emblems of newness and status to entice prospects." When a prospect shows interest, the salesman points out the indispensability of sound-conditioning if the study center and the home gym, for example, are to coexist.

If, to the average home buyer, noise control is a luxury subordinate to bathroom lighting fixtures in gold finish or a double oven in the kitchen, noise in the apartment house may turn out to be a menace to both tenant and landlord—although usually neither realizes it until too late. It is a fact that the cold-water flats of the 19th century were built better, acoustically, than many of the luxury apartments going up today. It was not that the landlords and builders were solicitous for the tenants, but the builders were limited both in their knowledge and their choice of materials. They knew only one way to construct a partition: full-size two-by-four studs to which was nailed wooden lath, and over that an inch or so of plaster. The result was a heavy structure which blocked sound pretty well: unless the neighbor was beating his wife, the chances were the slum tenant would not be too much disturbed.

As for luxury apartments of the twenties, acoustically, and in some other ways, they are today real treas-



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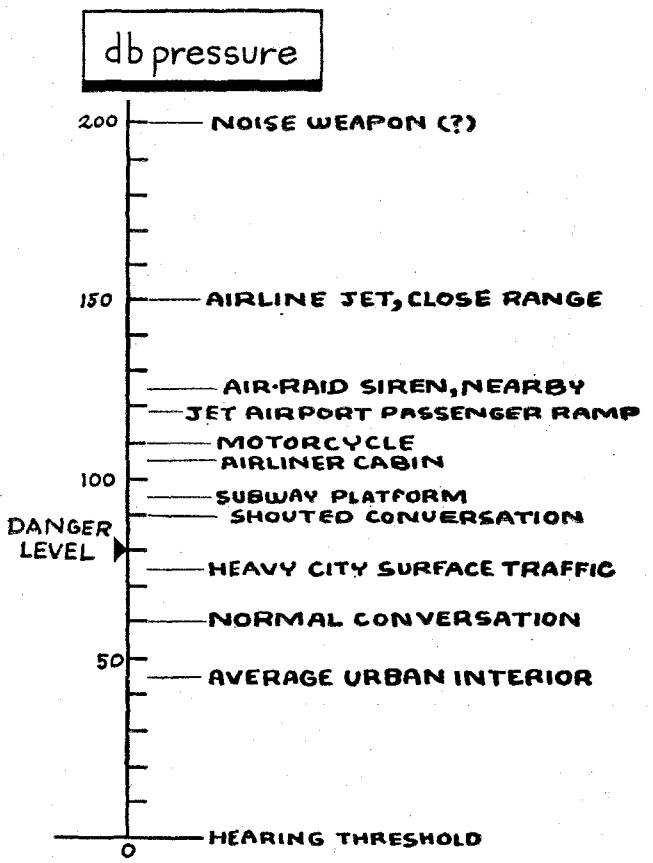
ures. One big New York builder estimates that if the typical apartment house of this class were to be duplicated today, the tenants would have to pay rents of about $1,000 per month per room. I think this is exaggerated, but it gives some idea of the deterioration in building standards. The same expert points out that European noise-control standards are higher than ours. As far as is known, nowhere in the United States does a local code (there are 6,000 of them) specify any degree of noise control. It is a matter left entirely to the builder and he, along with the banker who provides the mortgage loan, is concerned primarily with keeping down already inflated costs. New York City is at present considering a code which would stipulate 45 db reduction from one room to the next, and between floors. This is the standard now required by the Federal Housing Administration in homes for which it provides a mortgage guarantee. It is inferior, however, to the 56 db prescribed for Grade I structures in Britain, and even to their 51 db for less expensive Grade II housing. The Netherlands, Sweden, Germany and the USSR likewise have up-to-date acoustic codes.

When the plasterers in New York City urge in subway advertising, "Keep New York plastered!" and inveigh against wallboard, they have a good case as far as it goes. Light sheet material on aligned studs will produce a partition that lets through TV sound and even normal conversation. Plaster is heavier and stiffer and blocks sound better. However, a serviceable partition can be built with wallboard if the studs are offset, so that there is never a direct path from one side to the other, and the interstud space is filled with soft insulating material. In general, sound insulation is the same as thermal insulation; there is no particular mystery to the art of keeping sound in its place of origin.

Some anti-noise measures, such as floating floors and hanging ceilings, do entail extra expense; others do not, or at least very little. For instance, weather stripping on inside doors (sound passes through cracks) is not a costly item, nor does the builder save significantly when he allows the electrical contractor to install outlets back to back, providing an acoustic path from room to room. If the rooms are in adjacent apartments, so much the worse. Bathroom medicine chests back to back are likewise indefensible. Overall, good acoustic design need not raise the cost more than 5 per cent.

As renters grow more critical, new construction will be forced to meet higher acoustic standards, and rents in buildings of poor construction will decline—but hundreds of thousands will still be forced to put up with annoyance which could have been easily avoided in the first place. As yet, few prospective tenants take the obvious precaution, in a new house which is still largely vacant, of playing a transistor radio at high volume in the adjacent apartment (but the squeaky sound tells nothing about transmission of low tones) and walking on the floor above, while someone checks on the sound getting through. In an occupied house, a visit in the evening will often reveal reasons for not renting that were not apparent during the day. Of course, for anyone buying a cooperative apartment investigations of this kind are even more advisable.




More publicity has been given to airplane noise than to any other kind, but relief is a long way off. Despite countermeasures, the prospect is for further deterioration in most areas. Jets produce a higher pitched, hence more disturbing noise than propeller-driven aircraft, and there are going to be more and more jets. The Federal Aviation Agency predicts a doubling of passenger volume in the next five years, and a ninefold increase in small jets, which, in proportion to power, are the noisiest of all.

The seriousness of the situation is appreciated in high quarters and some extremely competent people are working on it, particularly in the Office of Science and Technology, which advises the President, and in committees reporting to it. But, as Nicholas E. Golovin, a member of the OST staff, points out in a paper on "Alleviation of Aircraft Noise" (January, 1967, *Astronautics and Aeronautics*) it is extremely difficult to compromise among the conflicting interests of airplane manufacturers, airline and airport operators, pilots and communities—which themselves often contain warring factions and are by no means united behind the homeowners directly under the flight paths.

Some of the latter had no choice, but some have themselves to blame, as well as the tract developers who got them into this bedlam. Anyone who contemplates buying near an airport should make it his business to sit in the living room during the 5 to 7 P.M. rush hour, when the air and the runways are filled with aircraft landing and taking off, and on the terrace almost any time. He will



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then have some idea of what he is letting himself in for.

One story that can lead only to melancholy reflections concerns a housing development close to the John F. Kennedy airport, New York's largest. When the homeowners organized to combat the noise, the FAA noise abatement officer asked if they had not been aware of the problem when they bought. The indignant owners explained that the sales agency had told them that the airport would close down the disturbing runway as soon as the area was developed. It never occurred to them that, since Kennedy is ringed with developments, on this basis the airport would soon be out of business, nor did they think of checking with FAA before signing the contract.

To end on a note of relative cheer: the chances are that the supersonic transport will *not* make the situation worse in the vicinity of airports. Whether the SST is a good thing is a moot question, but the economic stakes are so large that the heat is on the design engineers on no account to increase take-off and landing noise. These efforts will probably be successful. They had better be.

The sonic boom is another, quite separate question, but here again a note of optimism is justified. Unrestrained, the SST could change noise from a local phenomenon to one of nation-wide proportions, as the aircraft streaked from coast to coast, laying down sonic-boom "carpets" 50 miles wide across the country. [See the recent three-part series by Karl M. Ruppenthal, *The Nation*.] But this will not happen. If the boom turns out to be seriously disturbing, by the time the prototype is built public resentment will collide head-on with the project. Some experts believe that by modifying the shape of the aircraft to reduce drag and hence the force of the boom, it can be kept within tolerable limits. If they prove wrong, there is little doubt that the SST will be barred from overland use. The economic consequences would be serious, but the public relations problem would be even worse. Either the technical problem will be solved, or the SST will be the first major casualty of the anti-noise movement.

# THE DOLLAR INVADES EUROPE

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In January, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, while stressing his government's loyalty to the Atlantic Charter, stated in Rome that "we don't believe that anything in it requires us to accept the domination of European industrial and economic life by American industrial interests." London newspapers published his remarks side by side with an announcement that Chrysler had obtained voting control of Rootes Motors, Britain's fourth largest automobile manufacturer. Two days later Sir Paul Chambers, chairman of Imperial Chemical Industries, Britain's largest industrial corporation, said in a Paris speech that U.S. economic expansion is a menace to the whole economy of Western Europe, and Wilson, expanding on his Rome remarks in the House of Commons, stated that "loyal membership of NATO does not mean, for our part, that we thought it right that vital sectors, particularly in the technological industries of Europe, should be overrun and dominated by American firms."

These reports illustrate, on the one hand, a widespread European attitude in both government and business circles and, on the other, the inexorable expansive pressure of the U.S. economic invasion which mocks this attitude. The British Labour Party objected bitterly when Chrysler purchased 45 per cent of Rootes stock in 1964. Chrysler agreed then to accept only three of twelve seats on Rootes's board and to make no effort to control Rootes, but to work as a partner in building the company. However, the sagging British auto market of 1965 and 1966, pinched by the austerity program adopted by the Labour government to meet Britain's balance of payments crisis, brought growing losses to Rootes. The government asked Britain's automobile manufacturers to suggest any possible way of keeping Rootes as a British-controlled company, only to report to Commons that "no such scheme proved practicable." Chrysler could say that it stepped in only when it was asked and when it became evident Rootes could not make it on its own. After this switch of control, three of Britain's top four auto companies were under control of U.S. car manufacturers.

This contrast between resistance by European governments and some private groups to domination of their economics by U.S. corporate enterprise and the actual course of events appears again and again. The proposed purchase in May, 1966, of a majority interest in Deutsches Erdol A.G., the largest West German-based oil company, by Texaco, Inc., was first reported to have been abandoned because of opposition from the West German Government. Deutsches Erdol had about 5,000 service stations, produced about 35 million barrels of petroleum products annually in its refineries and about 10 million barrels a year of crude oil in West Germany, and had interests in the crude production of Libya and other foreign areas. Rumors of the take-over had raised the price of DEA stock almost 50 per cent in the weeks immediately before negotiations were broken off. DEA objected to the government attitude on the ground that it restricted the free choice of DEA stockholders in making decisions about their financial welfare "without wanting to assume responsibility for the preservation" of their assets. Subsequently, the West German Government withdrew its opposition to the take-over by Texaco because it could not come up with an alternative to keep DEA going in the face of its unprofitable coal operations and



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its lack of an adequate independent source of crude oil.

In 1964, President de Gaulle, the most prominent opponent of the U.S. economic invasion of Europe, first vetoed the proposed purchase by General Electric of a major interest in Machines Bull, the French computer manufacturer in which the French Government held a large equity, then reluctantly dropped his opposition when he was persuaded that the French company could not survive without G.E.'s technological know-how in the computer field.

These retreats and the many penetrations where no attempt at a defense has been made reflect in the main the advantage of American firms in size and financial resources. Chrysler could easily dip into its assets for the $48 million—half for additional stock and half for a loan—required by the Rootes deal. Texaco could not only spare the cash for the take-over of Deutsches Erdol but also draw upon its international sources of crude petroleum to supply the DEA refineries.

However, the Machines Bull case illustrates still another advantage of the giant American firm over its European rival, the "technology gap." Enormous governmental expenditures on research and development for the space and military programs have given American corporations, which are the principal beneficiaries of these programs, such a lead in new technology that Europe runs the risk, as French science minister Alain Peyrefitte has pointed out, of "falling as far behind the U.S. as the underdeveloped nations are behind Europe." In 1966, the United States spent almost $30 billion on R&D, compared with about $8 billion in all of Western Europe; well over a million people were employed in these activities in the U.S., compared with some half million in Western Europe. Computers, those handmaidens of science, technology and massive corporate and government bureaucracy, are far more widely used in the U.S. than in Western Europe, about 55,000 of them being in operation or on order in the U.S., compared with less than one-fourth that number in Europe. These and other facilities, plus higher salaries, attract young European scientists and engineers to the U.S., a "brain drain" that further contributes to the "technology gap."

Michael Heath, New Society

One result is a large net outflow from Europe to the United States of payments for rights to use American patents; it amounts to some $500 million annually. But the advantage the gap gives to the multi-national American firm over its European rivals is what worries Europeans. They see this as a growing threat to their sovereignty. It accounts for Prime Minister Wilson's particular objection to domination of the technological industries of Europe by American firms.

The extent of the economic invasion of Europe is suggested by the growth of American direct investments there. These amounted to only $1.7 billion in 1950, when they accounted for 15 per cent of all U.S. direct investments abroad. The Marshall Plan set the stage for expansion; by 1957, the total in Europe had risen to $4.2 billion. The creation of the Common Market and the European Free Trade Association and the emergence of boom conditions in Europe stimulated the movement of U.S. firms into these areas; the high profits of the long business upswing of the sixties in the United States fed by growing military and space expenditures, provided the capital; the vast expansion of research and development, largely financed by the government, gave American companies the competitive advantage. By the end of 1965, U.S. direct investments in Europe had grown to $13.9 billion, 28 per cent of all direct investments by U.S. firms in foreign countries. It has been estimated that the total in Europe now amounts to almost $20 billion.

Most of these direct investments were in foreign corporations that are subsidiaries of American firms. In 1957, the most recent year for which such detailed information is available, less than 5 per cent were in branches of American corporations. In that year the percentage of U.S. ownership of the subsidiaries was 95 per cent or more in about three-quarters of them by value and almost as many by number. In most of the remainder, U.S. ownership was at least 50 per cent.

The growth in the share of U.S. private business investments going to Europe reflects the fact that U.S. firms have preferred to concentrate their direct investments in the most advanced industrial countries rather than in the underdeveloped areas of the world. This tendency becomes more evident when Canada, a country whose per capita income puts it well outside of the underdeveloped class, is added to Europe; these two areas together accounted for nearly 60 per cent of all U.S. direct investments at the end of 1965.

Furthermore, the largest amounts of U.S. direct investments in Europe are in the most industrialized countries. The United Kingdom, with $5.1 billion at the end of 1965, had more than one-third of the total. Direct investments of U.S. firms in West Germany amounted to $2.4 billion, or about one-sixth of the European total. France ranked next with $1.6 billion, and Switzerland followed with $1.1 billion.

More than half of all U.S. direct investments in Europe



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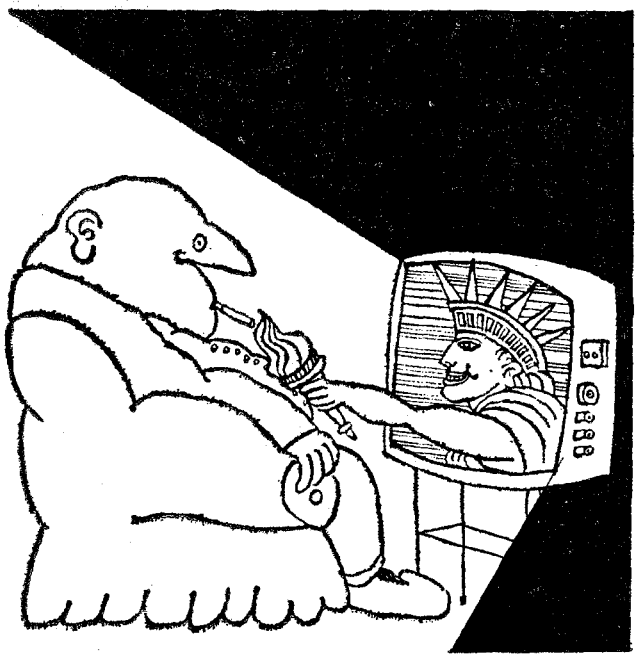

at the end of 1965 were in manufacturing, whereas in the rest of the world less than one-third were in this sector. If U.S. direct investments in Canada, Australia, Japan and European South Africa are also excluded, less than one-fifth of the foreign equities of U.S. firms are in manufacturing. The difference in this respect between Europe and the rest of the world is growing; 70 per cent of the capital expenditures by foreign affiliates of U.S. firms in Europe during 1965 were in manufacturing compared with 50 per cent in Canada, 41 per cent in Latin America, and 33 per cent in the rest of the world. Clearly United States manufacturing investment abroad tends to concentrate in the economically most advanced areas.

How profitable are these U.S. investments in Europe? The rate of return in 1965 on their book value at the beginning of the year was only 9.6 per cent, whereas the figure for the world total was 12.2 per cent. However, the world figure was pulled up by such juicy returns as the 62 per cent earned by U.S. direct investments in the Middle East, the 58 per cent in Libya, the 21 per cent in Peru, and the 18 per cent in Venezuela. These were principally the result of petroleum and mining windfalls, for which not many companies can hope.

U.S. companies with direct investments in European manufacturing did better than average in 1965, earning a return of 13 per cent. This was not as high as in the lush years of the fifties when returns on U.S. direct investments in manufacturing there ran above 18 per cent in some years, while the average rate of return on U.S. domestic manufacturing capital was 3 to 5 percentage points lower. But the rise in the average U.S. domestic manufacturing rate of return to about 15 per cent in 1965, while that of U.S. direct manufacturing investments in Europe fell to 13 per cent, has not yet reduced the enthusiasm of U.S. firms for expansion in this sector of the European economy. Expenditures for new manufacturing plant and equipment in Europe by U.S. affiliates were projected in June, 1966, at $2.4 billion for 1966 and $2.5 billion for 1967, compared with actual expenditures of $1.9 billion in 1965.

The heavy concentration of U.S. direct investments in European manufacturing was generally welcomed there in the period of postwar reconstruction when capital was very scarce and there was great need for American technology. As European expansion got under way, U.S. firms rushed to take advantage of the growing market opportunities provided. The Treaty of Rome, providing for free movement of capital not only among the member countries of the Common Market but also across the boundaries of the market as a whole, served as an additional stimulus to investment by U.S. firms, since there was no assurance that the tariff barriers confronting exporters outside the Common Market would be reduced significantly, as were those between the member countries. The way to beat the game was to get inside. The organization of the European Free Trade Association had much the same effect. Affiliates of U.S. firms proved particularly adept at taking advantage of the enlarged market areas created by these two organizations. Coming in with experience in operating throughout a large continental market, they were better prepared to set up a European network than were the French, German or other national companies.

Today, many European business and political leaders feel that expansion of U.S. firms there has gone far enough, perhaps too far. There are various reasons for this attitude. One is widespread fear that U.S. investments threaten the economic and political independence of the countries in which they occur. It is evident that President de Gaulle holds this view. The policy of his administration to convert short-term dollar assets into gold, which reduces the U.S. hoard of that fetish, has been interpreted as an effort to restrict American foreign investment by intensifying the U.S. balance of payments problem. Chairman Hermann J. Abs of the Deutsche Bank, West Germany's most influential private banker, has suggested than Bonn might be well advised to follow a similar policy.

The increasing resort by European countries to national and regional planning, even if only of the "indicative" type, intensifies the need to be able to influence the actions of key enterprises. Foreign-controlled enterprises are more likely to resist the "moral suasion" of government agencies than are those owned by nationals. Furthermore, when U.S. firms buy out domestic enterprises (a process which accounted for about one-fifth of the increase in U.S. manufacturing investments in Europe during 1965), they provide the previous owners with liquid assets that may present them with new problems of direction or control from the standpoint of the planning agency.

The position of U.S. firms in Europe also gives Washington an instrument with which to affect the trade activities of European countries. Restriction or outright prohibitions on exports to Communist countries may limit the expansionary trade policies of Western countries in which U.S. affiliates operate. In the Netherlands, U.S. embassy officials were reported to have told U.S. sub-



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sidiaries not to make certain shipments to East European countries.

Another concern of some Europeans, although it is not often mentioned in reports, is the threat to the future balance of payments of their countries contained in the present inflow of American capital. As of now, the drain of earnings to the United States is exceeded by the net inflow of capital from the United States for direct investment in Europe. In the years 1950-65, $5.5 billion were returned to the United States out of direct investment earnings in Europe, whereas net capital inflows for direct investment in Europe amounted to $8.1 billion.

However, Europe is not assured that it will continue to enjoy this surplus of receipts indefinitely. Currently, the U.S. Government, as a measure to improve its balance of payments, is trying to persuade American firms to hold back on foreign investments that require capital outflow. Furthermore, the flow of capital is dependent upon a variety of other factors in both the United States and Europe. Earnings on U.S. direct investments in Europe are more stable, but every increase in the amount invested tends to increase the amount of earnings. Not all earnings on direct investments are returned to the parent company; about one-third of the $1.2 billion earned in Europe in 1965 was retained as undistributed subsidiary earnings, and presumably reinvested. But more could be repatriated, and the U.S. Government has urged American firms to do just that as a means of relieving the balance of payments pressure. Europe could find itself paying out more in profits on U.S. direct investments than it receives in capital for direct investment. That is what happened on a world scale in the period 1950-65; U.S. parent firms took back in earnings about $13 billion more than flowed out from their treasuries as capital for direct investment abroad. (Despite this, the value of their investments abroad rose from $11.8 billion to $49.2 billion.)

More important, perhaps, is the adverse reaction of foreign business interests which feel that the expansion of U.S. affiliates may in some cases threaten their very existence. The automobile industry is an example. Some observers believe that it is already overbuilt in Europe. In the summer of 1964, when Fiat in Italy and Renault in France were making overtures to the German automobile industry for some sort of joint approach to the problem of excess capacity, General Motors announced plans for a $100-million plant in Brussels. The much greater resources of the U.S. auto firms permit them to compete most effectively and, where no restraints are imposed, to squeeze the domestic European firms. General Motors' Opel and Ford's Taunus have already reduced the share of Volkswagen in the European market. Similar developments are evident in other industries.

One consequence of the invasion by U.S. business that causes concern in some European circles has been the step-up of the merger movement. Cartels and combines have long been a prominent feature of European economies, but many of these were devices to restrict competition among enterprises that continued to function as separate companies while dividing up the market. After World War II, the occupying powers broke up many of these cartels in Germany, but soon there was strong pressure to re-establish them. Now the sheer size of the American corporations operating in Europe, such as General Motors, Ford, IBM and the international oil companies, has forced European companies to form a single giant enterprise out of several smaller ones in order to compete. There is a strong feeling in business circles and in the Common Market organization that this movement must be carried much further. However, many European companies are at a disadvantage: the Common Market authorities have not reached agreement on a statute permitting Europe-wide corporations, whereas many American corporations have established headquarters in Europe to coordinate their operations throughout the Continent. Although a Common Market Commission inquiry, made at the request of the French, reported no cases where U.S. affiliates were abusing "dominant positions" in contravention of the anti-cartel provisions of the Rome Treaty, there have been many complaints in Europe about the advantage these enterprises enjoy by virtue of their size.

The fact that much of the concern over U.S. corporate expansion in Europe reflects fear of lower profits on the part of a relatively small segment of the European population does not alter its significance as a portent of changes in legislation that may restrict the American affiliates. The worry over profits is reinforced among a larger public by feelings of national pride. In addition, it is sometimes feared that the American-owned plant might suddenly curtail its operations, leaving local employees without jobs.

By no means are all European attitudes toward American investment antagonistic. The Europeans are ambivalent. Many of them obtain top managerial positions with U.S. affiliates and become ardent supporters of their employers. Local governments and industrial development bodies, eager to increase employment opportunities and purchasing power, offer a variety of inducements to encourage U.S. firms to locate plants in their regions. Opposition to the domination of Europe's technological industries by U.S. firms is countered by statements to the effect that American direct investments should be encouraged *only* in those industries where they will serve to introduce new technological developments. Concern about the effect on Europe's anti-inflation efforts of an influx of U.S. capital is matched by fear that U.S. attempts to curb the outflow of capital will intensify the credit squeeze in Europe and slow the rate of business expansion.

Whatever the fears and hopes, Europe faces a continuation of the U.S. investment invasion. It could avoid it only by departing from the capitalist road. European firms are too dependent upon international markets, above all the United States, to become the advocates of general restriction. They hanker after the multi-national character on which many of the larger U.S. firms now pride themselves.

Powered by enormous cash flows and backed by the results of research programs financed in large part by the government, increasing numbers of American firms have found in foreign investment the answer to the requirement: "Expand or die." European firms will be hard pressed to match them.



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# BOOKS & THE ARTS

## Rationalizing the Irrational

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL STATE. *By Kenneth Galbraith. Houghton Mifflin Co. 427 pp. $6.95.*

**HARRY MAGDOFF**

*Mr. Magdoff was formerly special assistant to the Secretary of Commerce. He is lecturer in economics at the New School for Social Research.*

All the refreshing and rewarding elements of Professor Galbraith's former writing on economic affairs are present here and in good measure: the broad perspective, the bold confrontation of doctrine with reality, and the urgent concern with social reform. This book, though, takes us further; its purpose is a new synthesis, based on the proposition that today's society is drastically different from that of the past.

Economists, he charges, are trapped by assumptions and preconceptions which belong to an economic order that has passed into history. They tend to be less concerned with current social problems than with such matters and assumptions as can comfortably be handled by the scientific tools of the trade. Above all, "economics as it is conventionally taught, is in part a system of belief designed less to reveal truth than to reassure its communicants about established social arrangements."

To find out what makes today's economy tick, Galbraith urges, we must first remove our blinders and recognize that the old gods of the market place are in fact dead. However, in the process of dethronement, he leads us to new gods to worship or fear: the gods of the corporate state. He puts it bluntly:

> It is part of the vanity of modern man that he can decide the character of the economic system. His area of decision is, in fact, exceedingly small. He could, conceivably, decide whether or not he wishes to have a high level of industrialization. . . . Given the decision to have modern industry, much of what happens is inevitable and the same.

The inevitable is an economy dominated by an alliance of government and huge corporations, in which planning and control of markets are key features. While many parts of the economy still operate according to the old rules of the game, the dynamic and determinate core of the modern economy is to be found in a few hundred highly organized corporations. The prime mover of this inevitable result is modern technology. The latter involves greater specialization, more trained manpower and larger amounts of capital than in the past. More time is now needed to work up and bring a project into full operation. It is more difficult to shift from one project to another. Decision making, therefore, becomes more complex and more risky.

The only way to cope with such risk and complexity is to plan. Planning, however, has its own inherent logic. To plan effectively, the corporation must be independent and be able to control its own destiny, without reliance on outside financial institutions; a steady and sure flow of profits must therefore be available to finance research, development and expansion. Such a profit goal is attainable only if the corporation can (a) control markets and manipulate customers so that enough goods are sold at the right price; and (b) control the provision of supplies at consistent prices.

The upshot of this sequence is the giant corporation, one that is large and powerful enough to exercise the controls for the planning compelled by modern technology. Despite such power, the giant corporations would still be vulnerable without an adequate and nonfluctuating flow of total consumer income and, consequently, consumer demand. This is where the government steps in with its large spending program centered on military supplies. As Galbraith sees it:

> If a large public sector of the economy, supported by personal and corporate income taxation, is the fulcrum for the regulation of demand, plainly military expenditures are the pivot on which the fulcrum rests. Additionally, they provide underwriting for advanced technology and, therewith, security for the planning of the industrial system in areas that would otherwise be excluded by cost and risk.

The inflationary pressures associated with this activity create the need for government influence on wage and price increases; this too makes planning more viable.

The logical necessity of these arrangements leads to a harmonious blending of the goals of business, labor and government. The center of power in the giant corporation is not top management but what Galbraith terms the "technostructure": the whole gamut of executives, sub-executives, technicians and other specialized talent who participate in group decision making. The interest of this technostructure is the success of the corporation. This means that the aim is no longer maximum profits but security and growth. Enough profits have to be garnered to pay dividends and to create an independent fund for research and investment, but the major emphasis is to get the greatest possible growth in sales. Under the impetus of growth and planning, a more benevolent attitude to trade unions is not only possible, it is in fact desirable. The unions, due to their own weaknesses and needs, are also increasingly conciliatory. Above all, industry becomes an extension of the arm of government bureaucracy.

The harmony of interest, spurred by the imperatives of technology, helps to impose on all society the goals of the industrial system. Successful as this system is in producing an ever-expanding bounty, it also involves great harm to society, as for example: a cold-war and arms competition that can lead to total destruction, subordination of social goals (health, welfare and the good life), corruption of education and weakening of individualism. Since emancipation via the elimination of the industrial system is not possible (remember its inevitability), what is needed is emancipation from the goals—and ideas—of this system. Fortunately, Galbraith believes, the potential emancipators are at hand in the growing legion of scientists and educators, who might through political and group action bring about a more desirable balance between social goals and the industrial system.

My summary does little justice to Galbraith's stimulating and intriguing presentation of his argument. One of the most appealing features is the unity and consistency of the economic theory supplied—the end result, it seems, of Galbraith's long search for what is rational in an irrational society. But what emerges is as much a rationalization as a rationale of the business system. This may be due to the method of analysis itself, in the way the rational is separated from the irrational. The structure and operation of the modern economy is seen to be objectively determined; hence it is logical and inevitable. The irrational features arise from the goals of the industrial system, which are subtly interwoven with the goals of society as a whole. And



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since these goals are in the realm of ideas, they are amenable to change and improvement.

Galbraith's selection of technology as the key to a rational explanation of gigantism and planning may strike a responsive chord in the reader living in the atomic, electronic and space age. But does it fit the facts? Was it technology that dictated the origin of the Standard Oil Company? Is it the complexity of manufacture that induces oligopoly in the cigarette, soap, detergent and chewing gum industries, in each of which four companies control from 70 per cent to 90 per cent of the market? Or perhaps it is the mystery of technique that requires the extent of market control that exists in meat, ice cream and flour mill operations, where eight leading companies control 40 per cent to 50 per cent of each market?

While the procedure of isolating specific causes is used for the sake of dealing with reality, it may often result in a graceful side-stepping of the more vital aspects of reality. Take, for example, the appearance of hardheaded realism in the statements: "The industrial system has not become identified with weapons competition by preference or because it is inherently bloody. Rather, this has been the area where the largest amount of money to support planning was available with the fewest questions asked." The reader is thus directed to the significance of military orders as the source of corporate identification with foreign policy. But by the same token, the examination of any other interest of the industrial system (Galbraith's term for the dominant giant corporations) in U.S. pacification and control of foreign lands is eliminated. The avoidance of such an issue seems quite strange in a book devoted to proving the vital need of the giant corporations to control their sources of raw materials and to achieve persistent growth of sales. One would imagine that if control over sources of supply is an imperative for the corporation, then the latter might have more than a vague curiosity about the stability and security of their foreign properties from which life-giving raw materials come: iron ore, bauxite, copper, lead, zinc, manganese, tantalum and columbium (for jet engines and gas turbines), and lest we forget, oil.

In addition, the imperative to grow and control markets has been pushing the larger business organizations beyond the domestic borders. Thus, of the 500 largest corporations, 386 had notable foreign operations. A score or two of the large companies have a third or more of their total assets abroad; some eighty of these firms derived 25 per cent or more of their sales and earnings from overseas. Sales of foreign-based U.S. manufacturing firms have increased more than five times since 1950. In 1965, it has been conservatively estimated, earnings on foreign investments amounted to more than 20 per cent of after-tax profits of domestic non-financial corporations.

Perhaps, then, there is more than a mild interest by the corporate organizations in U.S. foreign policy and its military complement as a convenience in sustaining a comfortable business environment. In Galbraith's analysis, though, the irrationality of the cold war and militarism is an unfortunate accompaniment to the rational need of industry for government support of domestic markets; as such, it is unrelated to the persistent needs for business expansion and control.

Even more striking is the separation of the situation of the Negro and of poverty from the framework of analysis. It is hardly the case that Galbraith is indifferent to the social evils of our time; he could properly insist that the main purpose of his tract is to contribute to the removal of the evils. The issue is the diagnosis. Implicit in his diagnosis is the assumption that such evils are things apart from, and surely not a product of, the industrial system. For example, " . . . the poor, by any applicable tests, are outside the industrial system. They are those who have not been drawn into its service or cannot qualify"; the unemployed are "those who are currently unemployable by the industrial system." Hence, the solution to poverty is to be found largely in better education and "better *cultural* accommodation to the industrial system."

This sort of thinking reflects the common observation that there are job opportunities for certain skills, especially during the overheated period of the economy. But it does not square with the historical tendency of the industrial system to require less labor relative to the labor force: a decline in the demand for labor unrelated to the availability or lack of availability of computer programers or metallurgists. In 1929, manufacturing, transportation and public utilities supplied 46 per cent of all wage and salary jobs; in 1966, these industries, with all the help of government contracts, employed only 36 per cent of the total wage and salary earners. During the 1950s the entire private sector (small as well as big business) provided only one out of every six new jobs; the other five jobs arose from government purchases, government employment or nonprofit institutions. It is hardly reasonable to assume that the industrial system would have supplied a significantly greater number of jobs if there were more technically educated and "culturally accommodated" persons available.

By separating out social evils as things apart from the industrial system, Galbraith avoids confronting the issue of whether the industrial system operates in such a way as to create "culturally unaccommodated" pockets. Thus, he notes the pattern that Negroes are the last to be hired and the first to be fired. But he does not in the least recognize that this very industrial practice, whereby the Negro serves as a cushion of reserve labor, is an essential ingredient in a long and entrenched process in which lack of "cultural accommodation" evolves.

Nor, by the same token does Galbraith take into account any interdependence between the success of the industrial system and poverty. He affirms the role that profits play in securing corporate power, but ignores the influence of profits as a contributor to poverty and a barrier to the elimination of poverty. Profits are needed for research to create artificial obsolescence; they are needed to finance mergers for better market control. Naturally, prices and costs must be consistent with these and other profit imperatives. In turn, such necessary costs and prices become the measuring devices—the standards—to determine what is economically feasible and efficient. This much will undoubtedly be granted by our author. But he does not concern himself with the consequences that these are the very standards by which the corporation decides to invest abroad and also decides not to invest in the economic development of underdeveloped city and farm areas of the United States. Similarly, there is no consideration of the conflict between the cost-price-profit arrangements of existing institutions and, on the other hand, changes in the structure of industry to produce goods which meet social needs and, say, a program of industrialization and land reform to revitalize the urban ghetto and the rural South.

The absence of an appreciation of the influence of profit making on poverty may be a by-product of the author's concentration on his theory of corporate motivation. According to this theory, the modern corporation is more interested in rapid growth of sales than in the growth of profits. Unexplored in the book is the question whether one is feasible without the other or whether there is any conflict between these aims during a long cyclical upswing. Galbraith traces the substitution of sales for profit growth in part to the self-interest of the technostructure—its need to grow and to have a more secure base. In this respect, a new study from the National Bureau of Economic Research is particularly noteworthy. A study of com-



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pensation plans for top executives of fifty leading corporations shows that nearly half of the income of these executives is tied to the price of the stocks of their corporation, whether through stock options or deferred compensation plans. The New York gambling casino may after all be of some use to such executives, as it is to the stockholders. And one thing the stock market adores is a rapidly rising volume of earnings, especially when it is associated with a rising rate of profit.

In his reform program to replace the cold war, Galbraith does introduce a note of realism that will seem strange to the Keynesian community. The more orthodox Keynesians, especially the right wing, maintain that the economy could adjust quite readily to disarmament with simple fiscal adjustments; in particular, with a sufficient tax reduction. Progressive Keynesians, on the other hand, claim that tax-rate changes will not be effective regulators in the absence of very large public expenditures. Hence, the way to handle the impact of disarmament is to counterbalance with large public works — housing, hospitals, schools. Galbraith, though, goes much further than even these left wingers. He is all for social-welfare spending and believes it should be carried on for its own sake. But it won't do the trick because it won't feed the giant corporations with the right kind of stimulants.

To keep business solvent and sustain the economy without cold war, he proposes government sponsorship of substitutes that are roughly equivalent in scale and technical complexity to military items; for example, high-speed land and air communications, ocean-floor explorations and climate alteration. Valuable as these suggestions may be, we should recognize that they too may not be adequate. It will probably take too much time for the research and development before production can begin; more than that, they may not even then result in sufficiently large scale repetitive operations to keep the wheels of the industrial system turning. What is really needed is an ingenious scheme which could continuously depreciate our stock of bombs, missiles, airplanes, tanks and navy ships and, at the same time, stimulate the need for periodic replenishment of these stocks with new models —all this without anyone getting killed. Did someone propose a declaration of war against Mars?

# Straight and Nouveau

END OF THE GAME and Other Stories. *By Julio Cortázar. Translated from the Spanish by Paul Blackburn. Pantheon Books. 277 pp. $5.95.*

**DANIEL STERN**

*Mr. Stern is a novelist and critic. His most recent book is* After the War *(Putnam).*

There is, currently, a secret confraternity. I am a member. We are the serious readers who admit to finding only sections of *The Tin Drum* actually engrossing; who applaud and desire experiment, yet find that after page 60 Michel Butor is boring; that even before page 60 the novelty and attractiveness of Robbe-Grillet has died an early death. But because we are essentially the people Nathalie Sarraute speaks of in her excellent essay, "The Age of Suspicion," we are also the ones who no longer believe the gray, endless sea of prose that claims to report our experience in the manner and language of earlier, more naive times. If one reads "straight books" with suspicion, and is still unconvinced by the self-indulgent extravagances of many of the "advanced" writers, where, then, does one stand? Or, more important, where does one turn?

One turns, it seems, to Argentinian-born Julio Cortázar. When Cortázar's most successful novel, *Hopscotch*, was published here last year, I read it with great pleasure . . . and boredom . . . and irritation! Here was a man whose writing flashed with wit, superb imagery and who obviously was possessed of—and by—a fantastic imagination. But what of the endless self-indulgences? The tricks and games played not with or for—but on the reader.

In this new book, a culling of stories from three previously untranslated collections, the shorter form allows no time for the merely tricky. Yet what magnificent tricks Cortázar *does* play. A woman dreams about a beggar woman on a bridge in Budapest (a city foreign to her). Then she arrives in Budapest and finds the beggar woman on the same bridge. They embrace—and in horror the woman stands rooted while watching herself leave. This playing with time (the two women, it is suggested, may be the same person at different times) is characteristic. But it is only one of Cortázar's techniques for breaking down reality, mixing it with various illusions, and scrambling them to make a brand new reality—or is it a brand new illusion? In "Axolotl," a man who is insistently drawn to a certain fish in the aquarium keeps returning to observe and to imagine what it must be like to be that fish. The power of the imagination is attested to by the fact that an exchange is forced. The man finds himself looking out at the world from within the watery cage.

Still a bright texture of reality runs through these stories. It is as if Cortázar is showing us first that it is essential for us to reimagine the reality in which we live and which we can no longer take for granted; and second, he shows us how to do this by the use of infinite variety and possibilities. (This variety, these possibilities, of course, all carry with them the threat of danger—people are always going out too far in the exercise of the imagination.)

In "The Pursuer," the only unsuccessful story in this volume, a musician who is obviously Charley Parker, "reaches" in the most banal Man-With-the-Golden-Horn sense, for the truthful music he knows he can blow—and in so doing disorders his senses and his imagination until he destroys himself. Pace Rimbaud and *Yardbird*.

In "Blow-Up," the story on which Antonioni loosely based his film, an amateur photographer (we are all dabblers in perceiving reality, Cortázar implies) takes unsolicited, candid photographs of a woman in the throes of an embrace. Only here she is with a boy, not an older man. In a nearby car an older man sits, waiting. The woman remonstrates with the narrator about taking the photograph. The boy runs away under cover of the ensuing argument between the woman (who is joined by the man in the car) and the recording angel who is telling the story. When he develops the photographs later, it seems to him that perhaps the woman had a more sinister purpose in mind, possibly to seduce the boy for the man who waited in the car. If this was so then the intervention of the photographer actually influenced the course of events and freed the youngster. Cortázar has a marvelous way of implying much with little. The possibilities of the moral effects of art as action were totally obliterated in Antonioni's film; but this implication is what makes the work a gem among contemporary stories.

As the novel, *Hopscotch*, did not "work," these stories "work." Their effects come off, both as technical feats and as reverberating emotions and ideas. Actually, Cortázar is involved with ideas only in the sense that the best science fiction or fantasy is. A man becomes a fish; two human beings change identities and existences. In the story, "The Night Face Up," a man on a motorcycle being chased to his eventual death in a hospital bed is contrasted (and symbolically joined) with a man in some prehistoric cave culture. At first one is



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convinced that the primitive is a metaphor for the more advanced situation. The reversal at the end is breath-taking.

In reading such experimental work there is the temptation to overdo the concentration on influences. In the case of Cortázar it is interesting and valid to consider them. While a number of European influences are clearly indicated, it is two compatriot authors who strike this reader as most important to Cortázar's growth: the classic Machado de Assis and, most significantly, the great modernist Jorge Luis Borges. Cortázar has lived and worked in Paris since 1951. He writes with all the sophistication of an expatriate. And, like Borges, he often combines elements of the essay with the fictional elements of his stories. Here is the author commenting on the reaction of a character to the unaccustomed availability of luxuries:

> (For the files: note, following Ortega, the contact between the common man and technology. Exactly where one would imagine a cultural shock, there is, on the contrary, a violent assimilation and enjoyment of the progress. Mauro talks about refrigeration units . . . with the self-sufficiency of the Buenos Aires inhabitant who firmly believes he has everything coming to him.)

He shares with Borges, also, a pervading sense of the mysteriousness of natural objects and banal daily life. Cortázar writes with all the ambiguity, irony and attention to objects, common to Günter Grass, Butor, Robbe-Grillet: the most *nouveau* of the *nouveau*. The difference is that Cortázar, in these stories, knows precisely when to stop. Brevity, in the land of advanced writing attains to a kind of morality. Not that serious work must necessarily be short; but it must have those virtues common to briefer works: careful selection of detail, the rightness of the particular form, and the compelling sense that what has been left out is playing an important part in the final work of art.

These factors are, to some extent, absent in *Hopscotch*. Deliberately, judging from some remarks the author made in a recent interview, "The novel," he states, "is like a chain of mountains. It can go on and on." But the concept of the novel as a great catchall, from which the reader takes what he wishes, is old-fashioned and no longer pertinent. The use of indeterminacy and shuffling of sequence (as in *Hopscotch*) is simply the catchall notion dressed up in fancy clothes.

In any case the present volume contains enough rewards for the most difficult and suspicious of readers in search of demanding pleasures and dark delights. The translation, by Paul Blackburn, is properly colloquial, elegant and eloquent, and is flavored with just enough touches of Spanish and French phrases to spice the narrative. At this point in the development of a freer form for prose writing, Cortázar is indispensable.

# *Introduction to Gramsci*

ANTONIO GRAMSCI AND THE ORIGINS OF ITALIAN COMMUNISM. *By John M. Cammett. Stanford University Press. 306 pp. $8.50.*

**ERIC HOBSBAWM**

*Mr. Hobsbawm is the author of* The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848 *(World),* Primitive Rebels *(Praeger) and* Labouring Men *(Basic Books).*

Antonio Gramsci's reputation outside Italy is now quite considerable. It has increased sharply over the past ten years, but most of it still rests on hearsay. Until recently, practically all that was available in English was an inadequate volume of selections of Gramsci's work, four or five articles of uneven quality, and a few observations by the livelier historians of ideas such as Lichtheim and Stuart Hughes. This even though Gramsci was one of the most original Marxist thinkers of this century, the inspirer and leader of the Italian Communist Party, and a man who is accepted in his own country as a major figure in Italian culture, apart from politics. John Cammett's book is the first full-scale treatment of him published in our language. It is a fairly short work—the text amounts to barely more than 220 pages—and the author does not claim that it exhausts the subject. Still, it provides us with an excellent introduction to the man and his achievement, and this is more than any other work in English has so far done.

In spite of Gramsci's importance in the politics of his country, his chief significance is as a theorist and teacher. This is not to make a sharp distinction between theory and practice. Gramsci's thought was almost as completely dominated by the practical tasks of transforming society as Lenin's, and the remarkable successes of the Italian Communist Party have been largely due to his ideas. But he had neither the temperament nor some of the gifts of the political operator, which his fellow

**A Political Biography of a Russian Social Democrat**

ISRAEL GETZLER

Julius Martov (Iulii Osipovich Tsederbaum) was of the generation of the Russian alienated intelligentsia which grew up in the reaction and gloom of the 1880s, turned Marxist in the early 1890s, and supplied the leadership of Russian social democracy in the 1900s.

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student and successor Palmiro Togliatti so obviously possessed; and even if his career as a politician had not ended in 1926 (he died shortly after his release from jail eleven years later) he would probably not be remembered as an outstanding practical strategist and tactician.

Thus, he lives mainly through his writings, in the *Ordine Nuovo* of Turin (which he edited), in the "Lyons theses" which laid the foundations for subsequent Communist policy in Italy and, above all, in the almost 3,000 pages of the *Prison Notebooks* which he wrote, under fascism and the multiple handicaps of permanent illness, prison brutality and chicanery, restricted reading and censorship, in the last ten years of his life. Cammett is undoubtedly right in thinking that these "may eventually be recognized as one of the masterpieces of twentieth-century political thought."

Gramsci's writings are extremely Italian, and to the extent that most of us are unfamiliar with his intellectual context—for instance with the role played during his lifetime by the philosopher Croce—they are not easily accessible to foreigners, though for the same reason they make an immediate and vivid appeal to Italian intellectuals of all political persuasions.

Gramsci belonged to that international generation of revolutionaries who rebelled against the passive opportunism of the pre-1914 social-democratic movements, and the extreme determinist and evolutionist version of Marxism with which writers like Kautsky disguised this passivity. At the same time —and perhaps because they recognized the absorption of these elements in Kautskyism—he belonged to those who rejected the positivist commonplaces of late 19th-century thought. Politically, Gramsci belongs with Lenin (whose views he, almost alone in Italy, developed in 1917); with Luxemburg and what Lichtheim has called the "central-European left"; and insofar as they also rejected social-democracy, with the syndicalist rebels, though he rejected anarchism and "spontaneity." (He was, however, notably kinder to Sorel than most Marxists.) Ideologically he was, at any rate initially, very much more critical of the public corpus of Marx's writings than, say, the Russian Left. He shared with many of the contemporary anti-social-democratic Left a dislike of determinism and a taste for Hegel, but it may be argued—it has lately been so argued by Althusser and others—that his historicism, voluntarism and philosophical idealism went beyond what most Marxists would find acceptable; or at least that he never entirely reconciled this original bias with the mature reflections of the *Prison Notebooks*.



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FOREIGN POLICY

1. I see a stomach without eyes, something
that travels along the ground eating,
glancing up, occasionally,
to look at the light.

2. It is a shovel without a handle,
throwing up dirt steadily,
the blade returning, doing well now,
almost down to the grave.

ROBERT BLY

Gramsci's thought undoubtedly became Marxist, but his relative independence from the received text of Marx and Engels allowed him to explore freely several aspects not normally dealt with at length in the Marxist writings of his time, notably in the field of culture and political theory. His case is particularly relevant to those who think of the historic development of Marxism as essentially the elaboration or extrapolation of classical texts, for it demonstrates that this is not in fact the way the major Marxist thinkers operated. Even those who find this immensely original thinker most congenial, should be prepared to exercise their critical faculty on him. It is one of the merits of the Italian Communist Party that it has never resisted such critical analysis of its leading theorist.

Gramsci also belonged to a country which was both industrialized and backward, economically independent and colonial. He himself was a Sardinian—and there are few more impoverished and backward areas in Europe—but his experience in Turin, the Italian Detroit, also gave him an insight into the problems of a fully industrialized society. Gramsci's background allowed, and indeed obliged, him to see revolution not simply in terms of the proletariat, but of working-class predominance within a much wider movement, in fact one of national liberation and rebirth. Piero Gobetti, the brilliant boy who inspired so much of Italian liberal anti-fascism, saw the *Ordine Nuovo* (with which he cooperated) as a movement capable of regenerating Italian life through the agency of the working class; and this is very much what the Communist-centered resistance movement actually was to achieve after 1943.

Such an insistence on the broad character of working-class leadership or "hegemony," to use the term central to his analysis, meant more than the mere assertion of the primary importance of the peasantry and the role of intellectuals as a special social group, though Gramsci analyzed both with remarkable acuteness. Unlike most other Marxists, Gramsci's political theory consistently operates not only in terms of the "state" but of "civil society," that is, the sum total of nongovernmental institutional and private manifestations of society, of its culture and moral climate. A socio-economic system was not merely an economic base maintained by the superstructure of the ruling-class government and coercion but also implied the "hegemonic" predominance of one social group operating through "civil society," or the element of consent that other classes gave to it. The task of the labor movement, especially in Western countries, was to make the proletariat a "hegemonic" class even before it seized power; and indeed in such countries its victory was improbable unless it established such hegemony, and won acceptance as a potential dominant class.

Politically, the most interesting aspect of this analysis is that it provides an answer to the prize question of all revolutionary movements, namely what to do when a seizure of power is not in prospect (or after it has succeeded or failed). At such times, Gramsci argued, a "war of position" must necessarily succeed a "war of maneuver," that is, the struggle for hegemony must supplement or replace the struggle for power. (Incidentally, the Gramscian analysis also appears to offer the prospect of a nontotalitarian communism, without retreating into the dream world of anarcho-syndicalism or utopia.)

Theoretically, his analysis led him into a variety of remarkable insights into the way in which political societies operate, the function of culture and intellectuals within them, and the development of his own nation. In both theory and practice it provided the Italian Communist Party with an unusually flexible approach to its political tasks: it is, after all, the party which succeeded both in organizing the most successful partisan war in Western Europe and in functioning most effectively under conditions of capitalist prosperity. Not the least surprising thing about it is that it maintained its "Gramscianism" intact through the most monolithic and sectarian periods of Stalinism. However, this is probably due less to Gramsci himself than to the exceptional political gifts of his friend Togliatti.

Cammett's book will surely attract many radicals in the United States and Britain to this impressive and stimulating thinker. At present they will still have to learn Italian to read most of his work. Fortunately a larger selection of it is being translated now. It is to be hoped that it will soon be available.

# A Signal Danger

STORY OF AN ACCUSATION. *By Terence Reese. Simon & Schuster. 246 pp. $5.95. Paper $1.95.*

**DAVID CORT**
*Mr. Cort's most recent book is* The Glossy Rats *(Grosset & Dunlap).*

Bridge is a game of signals, legally limited to signals that can be understood by all the players. Tournament bridge is also a deadly competition for fame and riches, especially for American players. Thus an invisible, tabooed magnetic pull might be assumed, to invent additional secret signals, and break the game wide open. One elbow on the table might signal two good suits of the same color; the other elbow something else; a throat-clearing something else; all timed during the bidding. The check on this is that the play exposes all the cards in due course. When the same kind of hand is twice accompanied by the same secret signal, the fun is over.

And so two British champions, Terence Reese and Boris Schapiro, were accused by their American opponents, B. J. Becker and Dorothy Hayden, of holding their cards in such a manner that the number of fingers outside corresponded to the number of cards in the heart suit—a crude, unimaginative, limited and detectable stratagem for two such highly ingenious gentlemen. Two British officials, Swimer and Butler, hastily accepted the slander. In case your newspaper did not recognize the sinister international potentials of this event, it took place at the international matches in Buenos Aires in 1965 among Italy (the habitual champions), Britain, the U.S. and Argentina.

Now Terence Reese tells it all, complete with bridge hands, bidding, suspicions and rebuttals.

What is chiefly revealed by the episode and by this book is the rankling cattiness that suffuses championship bridge. To an indifferent outsider the Americans look especially smug, silly and small time, possibly because they



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have the most money at stake. As makers of the American image abroad, Becker and Hayden are to be deplored. The others in this world sound like non-Us trying to be U, but the Americans don't even have the pride to try. Tournament bridge must inculcate qualities of envy, malice, self-righteousness and overweening conceit.

In simple discretion, a player would only cheat with one partner, and he would be more effective with that partner than with anyone else. But in this tournament Reese didn't want to pair with Schapiro; they were worse than usual, and worse than with other partners. Since the average number of any suit in a hand is between three and four, and holding the cards with three or four fingers outside is quite normal, a large number of correlations would be inevitable. It took the genius of the Americans to settle on the heart suit. Thus we get the authentic scent of pure evil as in the play, *The Children's Hour*. But absurd accusations are even harder to refute than serious ones. One cannot laugh forever.

At least one example of the accusation in detail must be given. Here, with the involved bidding and thinking of these people, is Britain-Italy 18:

East dealer North-South vulnerable

NORTH
♠ Q 10
♥ K 10 7
♦ 9 8 7 4
♣ K J 7 4

WEST
♠ J 6 5
♥ 6 5
♦ J 3 2
♣ 10 9 8 6 5

EAST
♠ A 9 8 7 2
♥ 9 2
♦ K Q 10 5
♣ A 3

SOUTH
♠ K 4 3
♥ A Q J 8 4 3
♦ A 6
♣ Q 2

| SOUTH *Garozzo* | WEST *Reese* | NORTH *Forquet* | EAST *Schapiro* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1 ♠ |
| dble | No | 2 ♣ | 2 ♥ |
| No | 2 ♠ | No | No |
| 2NT | all pass | | |

♠ 5 led. Made three, 150 to Italy.

*Criticism:* That East bid two hearts because he knew his partner held only two hearts and so would not give an inconvenient raise.

*Answer:* The Italians were playing (Herbert) responses to take-out doubles, so that North's two clubs (as attested by his subsequent inactivity) showed fair values. Thus East knew his partner must be very weak. It was likely that the vulnerable opponents had the values for game and also likely, on the surface, that their best suit would be hearts. So East may well try to keep them out of a heart contract. As to the alleged risk, if I, as West, had held a singleton spade and four or five hearts, I would certainly have been alive to the possibility that partner's heart bid might not be genuine.

The hand actually contains a negative point for the defense. If the illicit knowledge is presumed, then *West* has a very obvious two hearts available on the way round. It is a set-up situation for a psychic of that type.

Underlying the episode was the challenge to the honor and self-respect of Englishmen. The British proceedings were rigorous, without trace of whitewash, and the vindication was well-earned. Furthermore, the British refused to besmirch the American accusers.

Ironically, the accusers seem to play better together than with other partners, by a sort of psychic ESP which may be parsed with intuitive legal cheating. They were unique among tournament players in accusations of cheating. This ended when at a San Francisco tournament, while the British trial was going on, somebody else accused *them* of cheating.

At this rate, tournament bridge may soon be destroyed, and all these people will have to go back to work.

# THEATRE/ Julius Novick

*Minneapolis*

American productions of Greek tragedy are a problem for the critic: the plays come highly recommended, but the experience of watching them is usually very pallid. How is one to reconcile these two intractable constants? One of my customary solutions is to remark (cogently, I think) that American directors and actors do not deal with Greek tragedy often enough to learn how to handle it, and that anyhow the translation lacks the grandeur which those who know Greek customarily attribute to the original. But my favorite recourse has been to hide behind W. H. Auden's opinion that the Greek classics in English have more historical and anthropological than aesthetic interest.

Tyrone Guthrie's production of *The House of Atreus* at the Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis makes such shifts and dodges unnecessary. It is the only revival of a Greek tragedy that I have ever seen; all the other attempts were mere exhumations. *The Oresteia*, Aeschylus' trilogy of *Agamemnon*, *Clytemnestra*, *Orestes*, and the great chain of familial murder that they forged, has been freely adapted for the occasion by John Lewin, but the result is still Greek tragedy, Aeschylus' drama and not Mr. Lewin's. Dr. Guthrie has succeeded—uniquely, I think, among modern directors—in conjuring up a considerable vestige of those dark tremendous forces that the Athenians encountered in the Theatre of Dionysius. And, in so doing, he has given us probably the nearest thing to a Theatre of Cruelty spectacle, as Antonin Artaud imagined it, that we have ever had in this country.

Artaud was a French actor, director, poet, playwright, critic and theoretician who died at Ivry, near Paris, in 1948, two years after his release from the insane asylum at Rodez. His influence is based on a book called *The Theatre and Its Double*, first published in 1938, in which he argued that the "decadent" modern theatre must be swept away and replaced by "a theatre which events do not exceed, whose resonance is deep within us, dominating the instability of the times." Peter Brook's production of *Marat/Sade* used techniques developed in a "Theatre of Cruelty" workshop that Mr. Brook headed for the Royal Shakespeare Theatre in London.

But just what did Artaud have in mind when he talked of a "Theatre of Cruelty"? Not what might be superficially expected. He wrote:

> With this mania we all have for depreciating everything, as soon as I have said "cruelty," everybody will at once take it to mean "blood." But . . . it is not the cruelty we can exercise upon each other by hacking at each other's bodies, carving up our personal anatomies, or, like Assyrian emperors, sending parcels of human ears, noses, or neatly detached nostrils through the mail, but the much more terrible and necessary cruelty which things can exercise against us. We are not free. And the sky can still fall on our heads. And the theatre has been created to teach us that first of all.

And that, first of all, is what Greek tragedy teaches us. Artaud sought to bring back to the stage at least "a little breath of that great metaphysical fear which is at the root of all ancient theatre":

> The theatre must make itself the equal of life, not an individual life, that individual aspect of life in which characters triumph, but the sort of liberated life which sweeps away human individuality and in which man is only a reflection. The true purpose of the theatre is to create Myths, to express life in its immense, universal aspect. . . .

This sounds as if Artaud were calling almost explicity for a revival of Greek tragedy which, more than any other kind of Western theatre, deals with "life



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in its immense, universal aspect." But he was not:

> We shall try to concentrate, around famous personages, atrocious crimes, superhuman devotions, a drama which, *without resorting to the defunct images of the old Myths*, shows that it can extract the forces which struggle within them. (My italics.)

The key assumption here is that the "images of the old Myths" are "defunct," and anyone who has seen English-language productions of Greek tragedy would be likely to agree. In our time and country, only Dr. Guthrie has been able to disprove this assumption with regard to Greek tragedy.

Artaud himself was entirely unable to see that Greek tragedy might be the foundation for the kind of theatre he sought to build, because he was in violent revolt against the French theatrical tradition of reverence for the classics, which was—often still is—expressed through static stagings in which the actors declaimed the sacred text. "A theatre which subordinates the *mise en scène* and production, i.e., everything in itself that is specifically theatrical, to the text," was, according to Artaud, "a theatre of idiots, madmen, inverts, grammarians, grocers, antipoets and positivists. . . ." Throwing out the baby with the bath water, he raised his famous cry, "No more masterpieces!"

> Masterpieces of the past are good for the past: they are not good for us. . . . If the public does not frequent our literary masterpieces, it is because those masterpieces are literary, that is to say fixed; and fixed in forms that no longer respond to the needs of the time.

Artaud demanded "a theatre which eliminates the author in favor of what we would call, in our Occidental theatrical jargon, the director; but a director who has become a kind of manager of magic, a master of sacred ceremonies." But what if the director could function in this manner *without* eliminating the author? That is exactly what Dr. Guthrie has done with *The House of Atreus*. The significance and power of his production come from his success in evoking "a little breath of that great metaphysical fear," "life in its immense, universal aspect," "gods . . . heroes . . . monsters . . . natural and cosmic forces"—just those central elements of Greek tragedy that are absent from most productions. The import of *The House of Atreus*—an import felt in the first place by some more primal, basic faculty than the reasoning mind—is that tremendous powers are loose in the world, compared to which an ordinary mortal is a puny creature indeed. In other words—Artaud's words—"We are not free. And the sky can still fall on our heads."

Dr. Guthrie's means, as well as his ends, are on the whole quite Artaudian. He does not, of course, fill the entire prescription. I did not notice, for instance, a "physical rhythm of movements whose crescendo and decrescendo will accord exactly with the pulsation of movements familiar to everyone," or "the physical action of light which arouses sensations of heat and cold," or "absolutely new sounds, qualities which present-day musical instruments do not possess." A rather more significant dictum is also unfulfilled:

> We abolish the stage and the auditorium and replace them by a single site, without partition and barrier of any kind, which will become the theatre of the action. A direct communication will be re-established between the actor and the spectator, from the fact that the spectator, placed in the middle of the action, is engulfed and physically affected by it.

But though stage and auditorium remain separate areas at the Guthrie Theatre, they are at least in the same room, and not separated by the wall-with-a-hole-in-it that we call the proscenium; and though the spectator is not in the middle of the action, the Guthrie's asymmetric thrust stage brings the action into the midst of the spectators.

In other respects, *The House of Atreus* comes far closer to what Artaud wanted. The prophet called for a theatre that "turns words into incantations." He demanded

> cries, groans, apparitions, surprises, theatricalities of all kinds, magic beauty of costumes taken from certain ritual models; resplendent lighting, incantational beauty of voices, the charms of harmony, rare notes of music . . . concrete appearances of new and surprising objects, masks, effigies yards high, sudden changes of light . . . .

All these Dr. Guthrie supplies, and few of them fail in their effect.

Human individuality is not, as Artaud demanded, entirely swept away. Mr. Lewin's adaptation elaborates on Aeschylus' occasional hints for intimate details: the grim reminiscences of a soldier back from Troy, the feeble wailing of Orestes' old nurse. Dr. Guthrie deftly brings out the individuality of certain major characters: Agamemnon's slightly cheap arrogance, Clytemnestra's bitchiness, the forlornness of Cassandra. Yet these towering figures are not diminished thereby; the production is Artaudian in spirit because of the successful boldness with which Dr. Guthrie uses anti-realistic, hieratic, bizarre devices to place it on a superhuman plane.

The actors are not dressed in the white crypto-mini-skirts and dainty draperies that traditionally serve for Greek tragedies; designer Tanya Moiseiwitsch has swathed them in costumes of coarse, earth-colored fabrics, and covered their faces with masks. The choruses seem human, more or less, but the major characters are larger than life size; with their rigid, stately gestures, they look like huge, awe-inspiring dolls. Yet even they are dwarfed by the tawny gates that dominate the set, and by the tremendous figures of the gods, who are out of human scale altogether. At Argos, Orestes is a heroic figure, and grim enough when he kills Clytemnestra; but at Delphi, in the shadow of great golden Apollo, he looks like a small boy clinging to his father for support.

All the actors, except some in the chorus, are men, which places the action


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at a further remove from ordinary life. Douglas Campbell as Clytemnestra brings an incongruous touch of Oscar Wilde's Lady Bracknell to the proceedings, but his ironies gleam and sting, and he rises to climaxes of brazen power. Robin Gammell doubles successfully as Cassandra and Electra. Among the men who play men, the most notable are Lee Richardson as Agamemnon and Apollo, and Len Cariou—one of the finest young classical actors now working in the U.S.—as a powerful Orestes.

The actors who make up the choruses are notable because they are not riff-raff whose only virtue is that they come cheap (as they would have to do Off-Broadway, or in most regional theatres); many of them play important roles in the Guthrie Theatre repertory. In his staging for the chorus, Guthrie has completely avoided the one-two-three-kick danger, employing instead a fluid series of stylized, asymmetrical groupings. The choral speaking, like that of the principals, rises easily from almost colloquial speech through chanting to outright song. I doubt that there is another company in this country capable of executing Dr. Guthrie's tremendous intentions.

Mr. Lewin has condensed the trilogy so that it can be played in three and a half hours; it seems far shorter. *Agamemnon,* the first play, is deeply impressive. The second, which Mr. Lewin entitles *The Bringers of Offerings,* rises to heights of power that I never thought a Greek play could attain in the 20th century. There is a grimly infectious sequence of ritual, wild yet controlled, as Orestes works himself up to the murder, and a towering moment near the end, when Orestes cries "Spread it out!" and the fatal net that had entangled his father is dragged open across the stage.

The third play, here called *The Furies,* is less successful than either of the others. The Furies themselves, those evocations of primitive ferocity and horror, are an unsolved problem. When Aeschylus first produced the play, we are told by an ancient writer, the Furies "so terrified the crowd that children died and women suffered miscarriage." In Aeschylus' time, of course, the audience's own beliefs worked to increase the emotional impact of these grim goddesses—an advantage that a modern director lacks. As if acknowledging that nowadays the Furies are a liability, Dr. Guthrie keeps them out of sight as much as possible: a prudent recourse, not a daring one. Unfortunately, we can still hear them, and they are nowhere near as terrible as the script keeps insisting they are. They sound as unconvincing as the Witches in most productions of *Macbeth.*

Another problem is the goddess Athena, who presides at the epoch-making trial that finally breaks the great chain of murder. Enthroned and tremendous, she looks like the radiant principle of justice she is supposed to be, but Douglas Campbell plays her as a world-weary ironist, not even seriously interested in the case unfolding before her. In every play there are certain places where any suggestion of mockery, however immediately effective, can tend only to undermine the final effect; this trial is one. Furthermore, the final ceremony of order which ends the trilogy, and which should be a sublime climax representing the emergence from darkness into light, is not, in Dr. Guthrie's staging, equal to the rites of chaos which have gone before.

Aside from these particular difficulties with The Furies, the production's limitations, as well as its virtues, are those demanded by Artaud. There are certain functions of theatre in which the prophet was aggressively *not* interested. Myths, dark forces, "life in its immense, universal aspect" were everything to him. "It is not on the social level that the action of theatre unfolds. Still less on the moral and psychological levels." Such a pronouncement would cut off whole dimensions of implication from *The Oresteia,* and that is what happens in Dr. Guthrie's production.

*The Oresteia* is not in any case of overwhelming interest as a psychological drama, but on the social and moral plane (the two are impossible to separate) it has much to say. In a pamphlet published by the Guthrie Theatre, the the poet Robert Bly writes:

> In *The House of Atreus,* Aeschylus, a genius ten times over, describes what it feels like for a family or a nation to be caught in its own past mistakes. And what is the mistake this ruling family made over and over again? It was the *refusal* to forgive, expressed as the *inability* to forgive. . . . Like the characters in *The House of Atreus,* our whole nation is now being pulled into the bottomless mud because of our past mistakes in Southeast Asia. . . . We cannot forgive North Vietnam nor the Vietcong; they in turn cannot forgive us. We are in the House of Atreus.

With this in mind, several members of the theatre published an advertisement in a Minneapolis paper inviting Vice President Humphrey, then in town, to come and see the production.

I doubt that he would have been very much edified, not at least, about Vietnam. *We* could never be in *this* House of Atreus; it is a house of giants, not of men. In Dr. Guthrie's production, the trilogy has no existence as a problem play, a hypothetical case, a discussion of issues, though Aeschylus included, and Mr. Lewin has preserved, all these things in it. At the Guthrie Theatre *The House of Atreus* is simply a rite, an evocation of something high and formidable, an image of magnificence. Perhaps it could not be anything else, and still be this; at any rate, it is enough. In our time we have hardly known that such a thing was possible in the theatre, which is why Artaud was so frustrated. Artaud was too unpredictable and irrational, and too bitterly opposed to a verbally oriented theatre, for it to be safe to say that he would have admired *The House of Atreus,* but it does realize, however imperfectly and partially, some of his dearest dreams.


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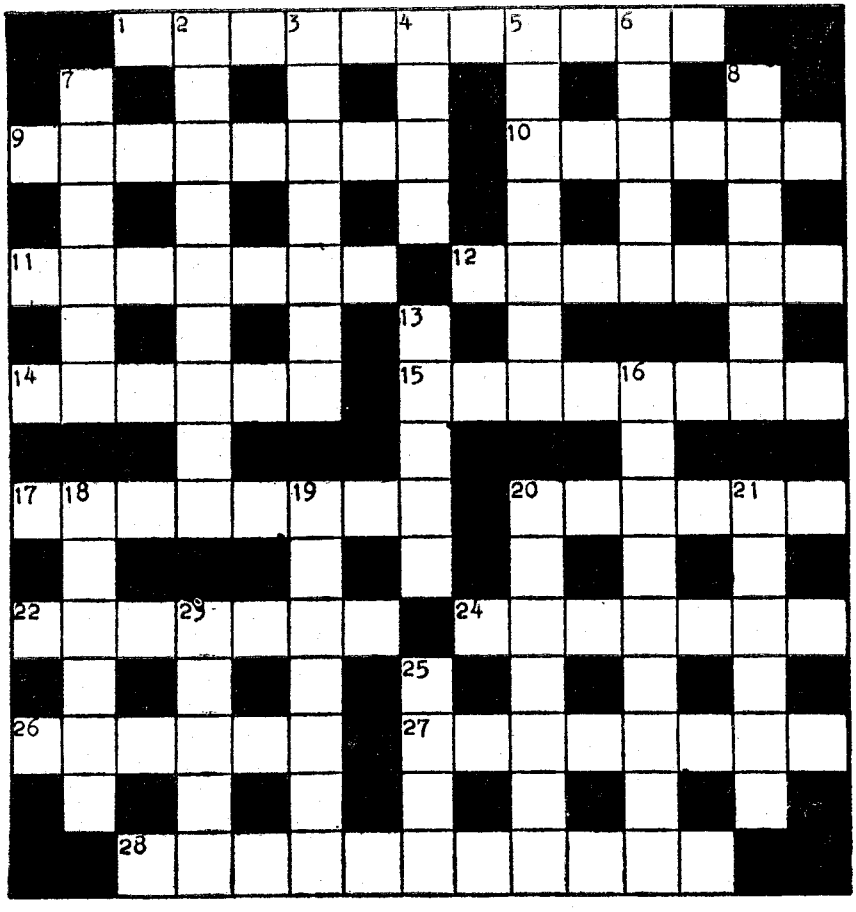
# Crossword Puzzle No. 1215

## FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Not exactly nice, and if it was a crime it was Herod's. (11)
9, 23 down and 20 across Was 6 down supposed to be sweet on it? (1,7,5,3,3)
10 Pictures of royalty, it sounds like. (6)
11 Supposedly superior persons, yet their activities are not always legal. (7)
12 Not going for the power to last? (7)
14 Puts up with things put up for the spectators. (6)
15 Nine and 23, but not 20 across! (One is probably single-minded in it.) (8)
17 Fix a point so that a tie might be in order? (5-3)
20 See 9 across
22 A track coach might lead one to where the right spirit is shown. (4,3)
24 Made to chain the city. (7)
26 Made in a way to show two equal parts divided by it. (6)
27 Is it again said to suggest a country in financial difficulties? (8)
28 Does one take stock of the navy through one? (11)

DOWN:

2 The acid that counteracts pellagra. (9)
3 Agrees to make the things that supply only other than D.C. appliances. (7)
4 River in England from which one is likely to drive. (4)
5 Money for 24? (7)
6 Traditionally, not an 18 down. (5)
7 Don't agree to a thing! (6)
8 Folksy? (6)
13 Barely sufficient. (5)
16 At least one block on the street. (9)
18 Bank counter?(6)
19 Not so fancy a variety of praline. (7)
20 Careful with the strategy—it may mean a trick! (7)
21 The light used to be bad. (6)
23 See 9 across
25 Travel of the outre kind. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1214

ACROSS. 1, 10, 9 and 22 down The Man Who Broke the Bank at Monte Carlo; 11 Aerate; 12 Severest; 14 Extreme; 15 Abyss; 17 Rated; 19 Located; 21 Clinches; 23 Ambler; 25 Ordered; 26 Pitiful; 27 Democratically. DOWN: 1 Trafalgar; 2 Elm tree; 3 Annotated; 4 When; 5 On the Beach; 6 Reeve; 7 Knavery; 8 Skit; 13 Hellbender; 15 Automatic; 16 Severally; 18 Twiddle; 20 Doleful; 21 Crop; 24 Spot.

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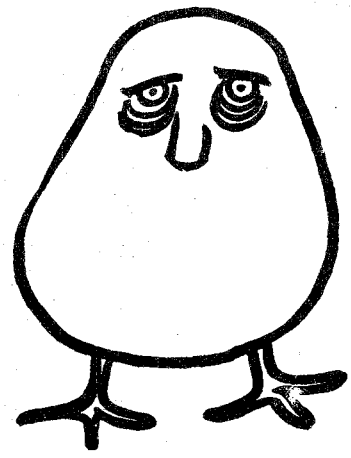

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